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BROOKLINE, MASS.

Dear Sir -

16 Nov. 1911

I have sent you
by mail to day a copy of
"Family Notes"

kindly printed - for the
Neubury Library - and trust
you will like it

Yours truly,
Edmond Fitzgerald

FAMILY NOTES



DESMOND FITZGERALD

PRIVATELY PRINTED

1911

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PART FIRST

Colonial Descent

PART FIRST

Colonial Descent

Brookline, Massachusetts, 20th May 1911.

To my Children and Grandchildren.

The descent of our family from early New England colonists, through my mother and grandmother, will be taken first in order, as it is naturally the one which is more closely connected with the history of this country, and it certainly is one in which, as Americans, we take a just pride.

I had always known from early childhood of the direct descent from Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode Island, for my grandmother's real estate came from him or his children, and has never been out of the family. She owned the compass which Roger Williams carried in his pocket and which has been given to the Rhode Island Historical Society, and I have often heard her speak of the Williams descent. I was not aware, however, of any other colonial ancestors, until recently urged by the Society of Colonial Wars and its talented expert, Mr. W. R. Watkins, to make out supplemental papers.

In a fortunate day of leisure, a year ago, I found that there were branches from the family tree reaching out in many directions and promising a great harvest whenever the time should arrive to devote to the research.

About the latter I shall have little to say; it has its hours of despair, but I am disposed also to believe that genealogical work, like all other honest work, has its hours of happiness and reward.

Now I find that there are at least fifteen early colonial settlers or immigrants from whom we are descended; many of them were distinguished men, and I believe that all of them were deserving, even though they may have been engaged in humble pursuits. Their names, arranged in genealogical order follow.

Affectionately yours,

DESMOND FITZGERALD

Colonial Ancestors

THOMAS THAYER, Braintree
WILLIAM HAYWARD, Braintree
REV. JAMES KEITH, Bridgewater
DEACON SAMUEL EDSON, Bridgewater
ROGER WILLIAMS, Providence, Rhode Island
ZACHARIAH RHODES, Providence, Rhode Island
WILLIAM ARNOLD, Providence, Rhode Island
THOMAS WALLING, Providence, Rhode Island
DANIEL ABBOTT, Providence, Rhode Island
WILLIAM ADAMS, Ipswich
THOMAS DICKINSON, Rowley
GYLES BURLEY, Ipswich
ROGER CONANT, Cape Ann
REV. WILLIAM WALTON, Marblehead
WILLIAM HUNT, Concord

NOTE: *Towns and cities mentioned are situated in the state of Massachusetts unless otherwise designated.*

Genealogical Table No. 1 Colonial Descent

Caroline b. Brookli m. Brookli Charles A of New Y and have	{ m. 14 Jan. 1652 Huldah Hayward of Mendon d. 1 Sep. 1690	{ b. Braintree m. Margery ——— d. 18 July 1676
Charles b. Broo Stephen b. New	{ Rev. James Keith b. Aberdeen, 1643 d. 23 July 1719 m. 3 May 1668 Susanna Edson b. 1638 d. 16 Oct. 1703	{ Deacon Saml Edson of Bridgewater b. England 1612 d. July 1692 m. ab. 1637 Susanna Orcutt b. England 1618 d. Feb. 1699
Harriot Fi b. Brookli m. Brookli Robert Jo and have i	{ Roger Williams b. Wales 1599 d. 1683 res. Salem and Providence m. Mary Barnard d. 1676	
Robert b. Dedh Gerald b. Pepp		
Harold Fi b. Brookli m. Garrise Eleanor Fi and have i	{ Zachariah Rhodes b. 1603 d. 1665 m. Joanna Arnold d. 27 Feb. 1617 b. 1692	{ William Arnold b. 24 June 1587 d. 1676 m. Christian Peake dau. of Thomas Peake b. 1583
Eleanor b. New Desmon b. New Stephen Sa b. Brookli m. Saranae, I. Agnes Blai	{ Thomas Walling d. 19 July 1674 m. Mary Abbott d. 1669	{ Daniel Abbott of Providence d. 1647 m. Mary ——— d. 1643
s 641	{ William Adams b. England d. 1st mo. 1661	
o. 1646 ec. 1735	{ Thomas Dickinson res. Rowley m. England Janet ——— buried 1st mo. 1662	
Burley 1657 9	{ Gyles Burley res. Ipswich m. Elizabeth ———	
81-82	{ Lot Conant b. ab. 1624 d. 29 Sep. 1674	{ Roger Conant m. Sarah Horton
ly 1662	{ m. Elizabeth Walton b. England 27 Oct. 1629	{ Rev. William Walton d. 1668
John Nichol b. Providence d. New York m. Newport, Natalie Bayar and have issue	{ William Hunt b. England 1605 d. Marlborough 1667 m. Elizabeth (Best)? d. 27 Dec. 1661	
John Niche b. New Yo ch 1717-18 une 1663		
Harold Brow b. Providence d. New York m. Newport, Georgette She Sophia August b. Providence, m. Newport, I William Wat and have issue		
Irene Muri b. Paris, Fr m. Newpor Lawrence I Milled Co b. Newell,		

Genealogical Table No. 1 Colonial Descent.

Caroline Elizabeth FitzGerald
b. Brookline 4 April 1871
m. Brookline 12 Dec. 1899
Charles Augustus Van Rensselaer
of New York
and have issue
Charles Augustus Van Rensselaer, Jr.
b. Brookline 28 Sep. 1902
Stephen Van Rensselaer
b. New York, N.Y. 29 Nov. 1905

Harriot FitzGerald
b. Brookline 25 June 1872
m. Brookline 18 Nov. 1897
Robert Jones Clark of Boston
and have issue

Robert FitzGerald Clark
b. Dedham, Mass. 13 Sep. 1898
Geraldine Clark
b. Pepperell 6 June 1902

Harold FitzGerald
b. Brookline 19 May 1877
m. Garrison, N.Y. 3 Oct. 1903
Eleanor FitzGerald
and have issue

Eleanor FitzGerald
b. New York, N.Y. 7 May 1906
Desmond FitzGerald
b. New York, N.Y. 16 June 1910

Stephen Salisbury FitzGerald
b. Brookline 19 Sep. 1878
m. Saranac Lake, N.Y. 9 Sep. 1906
Agnes Blake of Weston

Sarah Caroline Brown
b. Nassau 17 Aug. 1818
d. Providence, R.I. 19 Nov. 1856
m. Nassau 31 Jan. 1839
Lieut. Lionel Charles William Henry
FitzGerald, K.T.S.
b. Turlough Park, Ireland, 9 Sep. 1812
d. Australia 21 Dec. 1894

Harriot Thayer
b. Charleston, S.C.
16 April 1787
d. Providence, R.I.
29 Oct. 1867
m. Providence, R.I.
14 July 1811
Hon. Patrick Brown
b. Scotland
res. Nassau, N.P.
Bahama Islands
d. Nassau 15 Jan. 1845

Sophia Augusta Brown
b. Providence, R.I. 29 Oct. 1825
d. Newport, R.I. 28 Feb. 1909
m. Providence, R.I. 24 June 1859
John Carter Brown
b. 28 Aug. 1797
d. 10 June 1874

John Nicholas Brown
b. Providence, R.I. 7 Dec. 1861
d. New York, N.Y. 1 May 1900
m. Newport, R.I. 8 Sep. 1897
Natale Bavard Dresser
and have issue

John Nicholas Brown
b. New York, N.Y. 21 Feb. 1900

Harold Brown
b. Providence, R.I. 24 Dec. 1863
d. New York, N.Y. 10 May 1900
m. Newport, R.I. 4 Oct. 1892
Georgette Sherman

Sophia Augusta Brown
b. Providence, R.I. April 21, 1867
m. Newport, R.I. 7 Oct. 1885
William Watts Sherman of New York
and have issue

Irene Muriel Augusta Sherman
b. Paris, France, June 1887
m. Newport, R.I. 8 Sep. 1910
Lawrence L. Gillespie

M. de Constance Sherman
b. Paris, France, 3 July 1888

Williams Thayer
b. Uxbridge, Mass.
22 May 1760
d. Paris, France
26 April 1826

David Thayer
b. Mendon
13 Feb. 1734
d. 1762

m. ab. 1751
Rebecca Williams
b. Scituate, R.I.
20 April 1735
d. No. Providence, R.I.
16 Feb. 1816

m. Northbridge
22 May 1780
Sarah Adams
b. 3 May 1756
d. Providence, R.I.
5 Aug. 1800

John Adams
bapt. "Hamlet Parish"
June 1722
d. 24 April 1796

m. Concord 31 Oct. 1745
Mary Hunt
b. Concord 22 May 1718
d. 4 April 1787

David Thayer
b. 6 March 1710
res. Mendon
d. 1780

m. 30 Dec. 1729
Jean Keith
b. Bridgewater
2 Sep. 1709

Roger Williams
b. Providence, R.I.
May 1680
d. Scituate, R.I.
30 Jan. 1763
res. Scituate, R.I.

m. 1 May 1729
Elizabeth Walling

Samuel Adams
b. Ipswich
29 June 1682
d. Ipswich
13 Aug. 1747

m. (pub.) 28 Sep. 1706
Mary Burley
b. 28 April 1688
d. Worcester 5 March 1772

William Hunt
b. Concord 1678
d. Concord 15 May 1755
m. ab. 1712 (?)
Mary Carly

d. 1728
m. 1690
res. Mendon

James Keith
b. 5 Dec. 1669
Bridgewater
d. Mendon
2 Oct. 1739
m. 3 Sep. 1695
Mary Thayer
of Weymouth

Daniel Williams
b. Feb. 1642
d. 14 May 1712

m. Providence, R.I.
7 Dec. 1676
Widow Rebecca
(Rhodes) Power
d. 1727

James Walling
d. 4 April 1753
res. Smithfield, R.I.
Wife died 1752

Nathaniel Adams
b. Ipswich ab. 1641
d. 11 April 1715

m. 30 June 1665
Mercy Dickinson
b. Rowley 8th mo. 1646
d. Ipswich 12 Dec. 1735

(Cornet) Andrew Burley
b. Ipswich 5 Sep. 1657
d. 1 Feb. 1718-19

m. 14 March 1681-82
Mary Conant
b. Beverly 14 July 1662
d. 23 Nov. 1743

Nehemiah Hunt
b. 1631
d. Concord 6 March 1717-18
m. Concord 1 June 1663
Mary Toll

m. 14 Jan. 1652
Huldah Hayward
of Mendon
d. 1 Sep. 1690

Rev. James Keith
b. Aberdeen, 1643
d. 23 July 1719
m. 3 May 1668
Susanna Edson
b. 1638
d. 16 Oct. 1703

Roger Williams
b. Wales 1599
d. 1683
res. Salem and Providence
m. Mary Barnard
d. 1676

Zachariah Rhodes
b. 1603
d. 1663
m. Joanna Arnold
d. 27 Feb. 1617
b. 1692

Thomas Walling
d. 19 July 1674
m. Mary Abbott
d. 1669

William Adams
b. England
d. 1st mo. 1661

Thomas Dickinson
res. Rowley
m. England
Janet
buried 1st mo. 1662

Gyles Burley
res. Ipswich
m. Elizabeth

Lot Conant
b. ab. 1624
d. 29 Sep. 1674

m. Elizabeth Walton
b. England 27 Oct. 1629

William Hunt
b. England 1605
d. Marlborough 1667
m. Elizabeth (Best)?
d. 27 Dec. 1661

m. 1728
m. Margery
d. 18 July 1676

Deacon Saml Edson
of Bridgewater
b. England 1612
d. July 1692
m. ab. 1637
Susanna Orcutt
b. England 1618
d. Feb. 1699

William Arnold
b. 24 June 1587
d. 1676
m. Christian Peake
dau. of Thomas Peake
b. 1583

Daniel Abbott
of Providence
d. 1647
m. Mary
d. 1643

Roger Conant
m. Sarah Horton

Rev. William Walton
d. 1668

Thayer

THOMAS THAYER (Immigrant), m. 13 April 1616, Margery Wheeler, of Thornbury, Gloucestershire, England; d. 2 June 1665. They came to America from England about 1635, and settled in Braintree.

FERDINANDO THAYER, second son of Thomas, b. 18 April 1625; m. 14 January 1652, Huldah Hayward, of Mendon; d. 28 March 1713. He lived in Braintree until after his father's death, when he removed to Mendon.

JOSIAH THAYER, ninth child of Ferdinando, m. Mendon, 1690; d. 1728.

DAVID THAYER, eighth child of Josiah, b. 6 March 1710; m. 30 December 1729, Jean Keith, of Bridgewater; d. 1780. His son Simeon Thayer was a Colonel in the War of Independence.

DAVID THAYER, second child of David, b. Mendon, 13 February 1734; m. 1751-2; d. 1762.

WILLIAMS THAYER, son of David, b. Uxbridge, 22 May 1760; m. Sarah Adams in Northbridge, 22 May 1780; d. Paris, France, 26 April 1826, and was buried in Père Lachaise, where there is still a family vault which I have recently visited.

HARRIOT THAYER, daughter of Williams, b. Charleston, South Carolina, 16 April 1787; d. Providence, Rhode Island, 29 October 1867, in her eighty-first year. When quite a young woman, she met with a slight accident, which led to a trip to Nassau, New Providence, Bahama Islands, in company with her friend Miss Vernon. They passed the winter in Nassau, and there met Hon. Patrick Brown, Judge of the Court of Admiralty and President of His Majesty's Council. Judge Brown followed the ladies back to Providence, married Harriot Thayer, my grandmother, 14 July 1811, in the First Baptist Church, Rev. Stephen Gano officiating, and took his bride back to Nassau, where the family lived for many years afterwards.

COLONIAL DESCENT

Brown

Descendants of Hon. Patrick Brown and Harriot (Thayer) Brown

1. PATRICK HENRY BROWN, b. Nassau, 6 November 1812; d. Nassau, 3 March, 1815.

2. HARRIOT ADELINE BROWN, b. Nassau, 1 April 1814; d. Greenwich, Connecticut, 6 July 1877; m. Nathaniel Church, Providence, Rhode Island, 27 June 1834. He died in Somerville, 21 September 1879. They had issue:

I. EMILY BROWN CHURCH, b. Providence, 8 July 1835; d. Providence, 9 September 1837.

II. EMILY BROWN CHURCH, b. Providence, 19 November 1838; d. Providence, 20 March 1847.

III. CAROLINE CHURCH, b. Providence, 8 July 1842; d. Providence, 24 March 1847.

3. AUGUSTUS THAYER BROWN, b. Nassau, 30 August 1816; d. Nassau, 12 May 1822.

4. SARAH CAROLINE BROWN, b. Nassau, 17 August 1818; m. Nassau, Lieut. Lionel Charles William Henry FitzGerald, K.T.S., 31 January 1839; d. Providence, 19 November 1856. They had issue:

I. HARRIET EMMA FITZGERALD, b. Nassau, 28 October 1839; d. unmarried, Somerville, 10 December 1888.

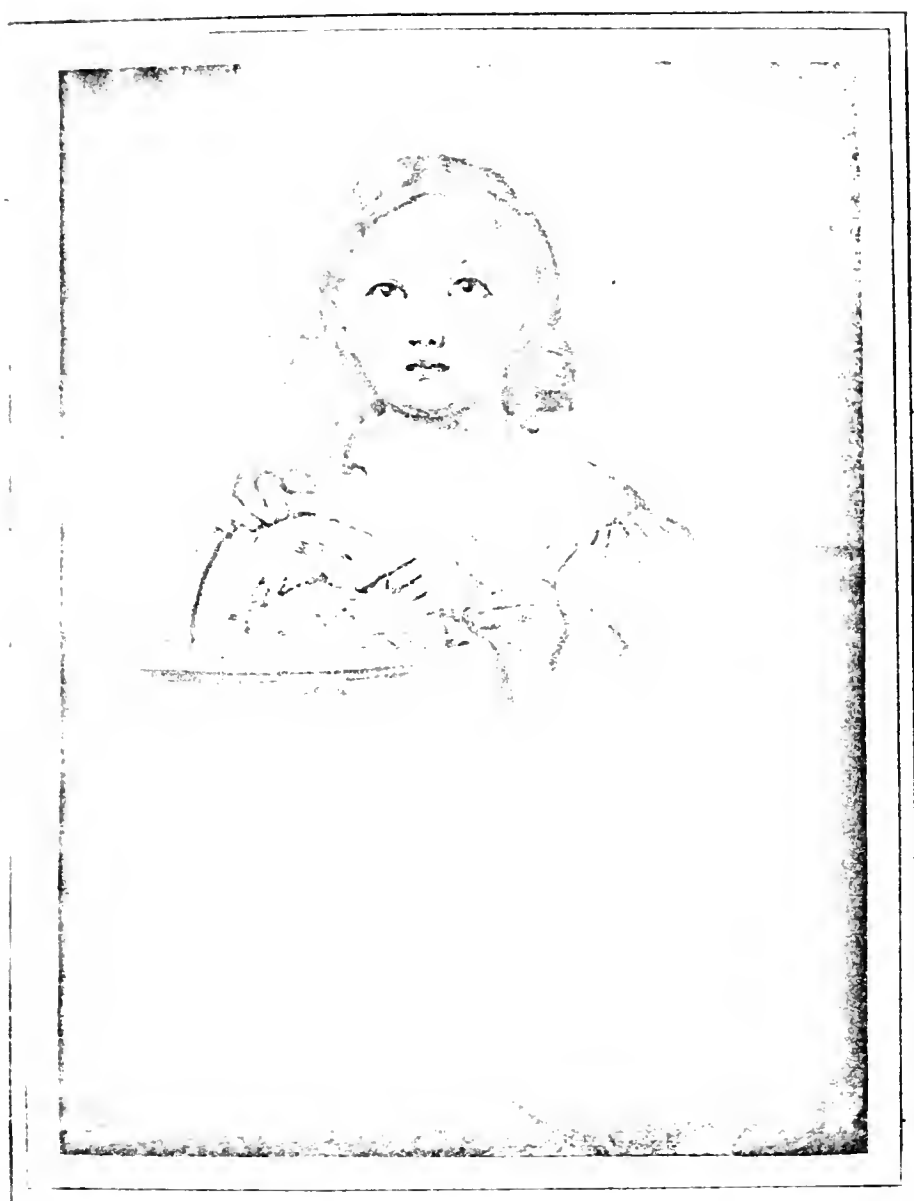
II. GERALDINE AUGUSTA FITZGERALD, b. Nassau, 13 June 1844; d. at sea, 3 September 1847, on board the packet ship Victoria, during a voyage from London to New York.

III. DESMOND FITZGERALD, b. Nassau, 20 May 1846; m. Elizabeth Parker Clark Salisbury, in Brookline, 21 June 1870. Residence Brookline. They have issue: see page 7.

IV. LIONEL GERALD FITZGERALD, b. Providence, 22 January 1848; d. Providence, 19 March 1848.

V. ORMOND EDWARD FITZGERALD, b. Odelltown (La Colle), Canada East, 6 July 1849. Residence, Providence.

5. SUSAN EMILY BROWN, b. Nassau, 27 January 1822; d. Paris, France, 27 January 1832. She died suddenly, at 8.30 p.m.,



Sarah Caroline (Brown) FitzGerald

COLONIAL DESCENT

on her tenth birthday. A party had been arranged for her, guests invited and supper prepared.

6. SOPHIA AUGUSTA BROWN, b. Providence, 29 October 1825; m. Providence, John Carter Brown, 23 June 1859; d. Newport, Rhode Island, 28 February 1909. They had issue:

- I. JOHN NICHOLAS BROWN, b. Providence, 17 December 1861; m. Newport, Rhode Island, Natalie Bayard Dresser, 8 September 1897; d. New York, N. Y., 1 May 1900. For their issue see p. 8.
- II. HAROLD BROWN, b. Providence, 24 December 1863; m. Newport, Georgette Sherman, 4 October 1892; d. New York, N. Y., 10 May 1900.
- III. SOPHIA AUGUSTA BROWN, b. Providence, 21 April 1867; m. Newport, 7 October 1885, William Watts Sherman, of New York. They have issue: see p. 8.

Third and Fourth Generations

Descendants of Desmond FitzGerald and Elizabeth
Parker Clark Salisbury

I. CAROLINE ELIZABETH FITZGERALD, b. Brookline, 4 April 1871; m. Brookline, 12 December 1899, Charles Augustus Van Rensselaer, of New York, N. Y. Residence, New York, N. Y. They have issue:

- I. CHARLES AUGUSTUS VAN RENSSELAER, JR., b. Brookline, 28 September 1902.
 - II. STEPHEN VAN RENSSELAER, b. New York, N. Y., 29 November 1905.
2. HARRIOT FITZGERALD, b. Brookline, 25 June 1872; m. Brookline, 18 November 1897, Robert Jones Clark, son of Robert F. and Margareta (Jones) Clark, of Boston. They have issue:

- I. ROBERT FITZGERALD CLARK, b. Dedham, 13 September 1898.
 - II. GERALDINE CLARK, b. Pepperell, 6 June 1902.
3. HAROLD FITZGERALD, b. Brookline, 19 May 1877; m. Garrison on the Hudson, N. Y., 3 October 1903, Eleanor Fitz-

COLONIAL DESCENT

gerald, daughter of General Louis and Gelegna (Ver Planck) Fitzgerald. They have issue:

I. ELEANOR FITZGERALD, b. New York, N. Y., 7 May 1906.

II. DESMOND FITZGERALD, b. New York, N. Y., 16 June 1910.

4. STEPHEN SALISBURY FITZGERALD, b. Brookline, 19 September 1878; m. Saranac Lake, N. Y., 9 September 1906, Agnes Blake, daughter of Francis and Elizabeth (Hubbard) Blake, of Weston.

Descendant of John Nicholas and Natalie Bayard
(Dresser) Brown

JOHN NICHOLAS BROWN, b. New York, N. Y., 21 February 1900. Residence, Newport, Rhode Island.

Descendants of Sophia Augusta Brown and William
Watts Sherman

I. IRENE MURIEL AUGUSTA SHERMAN, b. Paris, France, 9 June 1887, m. Newport, Rhode Island, 8 September 1910, Lawrence L. Gillespie, of New York, N. Y.

II. MILDRED CONSTANCE SHERMAN, b. Neuilly, France, 3 July 1888.

Williams

GOVERNOR ROGER WILLIAMS (Immigrant), founder and governor of Rhode Island, b. 1599±; educated at Pembroke College, Cambridge; arrived in Boston, 5 February 1631; settled in Salem, 12 April 1631; banished, 9 October 1635; d. between 10 January and 10 May 1683. He was a prolific writer, and distinguished for his sense of justice and his friendship with the Indians. His life has been so often written that I will not attempt to narrate it here. His wife is supposed to have been Mary Barnard, who died in 1676.

DANIEL WILLIAMS, son of Roger, b. February 1642; m. 7 December 1676, widow Rebecca Power (Rebecca Rhodes);

COLONIAL DESCENT

d. 14 May 1712. They resided in Providence, Rhode Island, and had six children.

ROGER WILLIAMS, son of Daniel, b. Providence, May 1680; m. Scituate, Rhode Island, 1 May 1729, Elizabeth Walling; d. Scituate, 30 January 1763.

REBECCA WILLIAMS, daughter of Roger, b. Scituate, Rhode Island, 20 April 1735; m. 1751, David Thayer, of Mendon, and after his death, Peleg Williams; d. North Providence, 16 February 1816. She is buried in our family lot in North burial ground, Providence. (*See Thayer.*)

Keith

REV. JAMES KEITH (Immigrant), of Bridgewater, b. in Scotland, 1643; m. 3 May 1668, Susanna Edson; d. 23 July 1719, aged seventy-six. He was educated at Marshal College, Aberdeen, Scotland, and came to America at the age of eighteen (1662). He is supposed to have been descended from the ancient family of Keith, founders of the College at Aberdeen. He was introduced to the Church at Bridgewater by Dr. Increase Mather. Date of settlement, 18 February 1664. His wife Susanna was daughter of Deacon Samuel Edson, who was the town miller and who lived just across the river from Keith, and there Keith wooed and won the daughter.

"The ancestor of nearly all the Keiths of New England and of many others bearing this name in different parts of our country, was born at or near the town of Keith in the northern part of Scotland in 1643."*

His funeral sermon was preached by Cotton Mather who speaks of him as "A man greatly to be beloved, one among a thousand."

The house in which Rev. James Keith lived and died is now owned by George M. Pratt, Esq., of West Bridgewater, and is situated on the north side of River Street, near the intersection

* *Memoirs of Royal Keith*, 1873.

COLONIAL DESCENT

of Forest Street. It was originally built in 1662, enlarged in 1678 and remodelled in 1837.

In 1676, just after the Indian war, Keith interceded with the authorities to spare the lives of King Philip's wife and boy, and succeeded. His grave is marked by a tomb in the cemetery on South Street, near the tavern bridge. He had nine children.

JAMES KEITH, son of Rev. James Keith, b. 5 December 1669; m. 3 September 1695, Mary Thayer; d. Mendon, 2 October 1739, aged seventy. James moved from Bridgewater in 1713 and settled in Mendon. He was an active, intelligent and useful citizen and became Auditor, Selectman and Moderator. He had eleven children.

"On 2 April, 1718, he purchased a farm on the Blackstone River near the mouth of the Comstock branch, where he resided. He afterwards purchased several other lots of land and became an extensive farmer, owning much land and many cattle."

"The original location of the Keith family in Worcester County, is now found in the S.E. part of Uxbridge at three-quarters of a mile from the village and near the mouth of the Mumfort or West Branch of the Blackstone River."

JEAN KEITH, daughter of James, b. Bridgewater, 2 September 1709; m. David Thayer, of Mendon, 30 December 1729. (*See Thayer.*)

Hayward

WILLIAM HAYWARD, b. Braintree; m. Margery —; d. 18 July 1676.

HULDAH HAYWARD, daughter of William, m. Ferdinando Thayer; d. Mendon, 1 September 1690. (*See Thayer.*)

Wheeler

MARGERY WHEELER (Immigrant), b. England; m. Thomas Thayer, of Thornbury, Gloucestershire, England; d. 11 February 1672. They came to America about 1635. (*See Thayer.*)

COLONIAL DESCENT

Edson

DEACON SAMUEL EDSON (Immigrant), of Bridgewater, b. England about 1612; m. England about 1637, Susanna Orcutt; d. July 1692. They came to America early and settled in Salem, probably 1638 or 1639. He was living there in 1639.

“In the old burying-ground at Bridgewater, the oldest monument of the kind is one over the grave of Samuel Edson and Susanna his wife. Though it bears the marks of age, the following record on the stone is clearly legible: ‘Samuel and Susanna Edson interred. He July ye 20 1690 and she February 20 — 1699. He aged 80 and she 81 years.’”

He was the town miller. The mill was on Town River, in what is now West Bridgewater. He was appointed by the Court a member of the Council of War in 1666 and continued in that office to the end of King Philip's War, in 1676; he represented the town in the General Court at Plymouth in 1676 and was a man of force and ability.

SUSANNA EDSON, daughter of Deacon Samuel Edson, b. 1638; m. Rev. James Keith, 3 May 1668; d. 16 October 1703. She was the mother of six sons and three daughters. (*See Keith.*)

Walling

THOMAS WALLING (Immigrant), of Providence, Rhode Island, d. 19 July 1674. In 1651 he was a townsman, in 1655 a free-man, in 1657 a Commissioner and in 1660 a Surveyor of Highways. He married Mary Abbott who d. 1669. (His second wife was Margaret Colwell who m. 25 December 1678, Daniel Abbott, son of Daniel.)

JAMES WALLING, son of Thomas, d. 4 April 1753. The name of his first wife, who was the mother of Elizabeth, is unknown. He had nine children. His will was proved 13 April 1753.

ELIZABETH WALLING, daughter of James, m. 1 May 1729,

COLONIAL DESCENT

Roger Williams, son of Daniel, and lived in Scituate, Rhode Island. (*See Williams.*)

Rhodes

ZACHARIAH RHODES (Immigrant), of Providence, Rhode Island, b. 1603±; m. Joanna Arnold, 1646±; d. 1665. He was a prominent citizen. He was a Commissioner, 1659–61–62 and 1663–64 and 65. In 1664, he was appointed on a Commission to run the boundary between Rhode Island and the Plymouth Colony. In 1665, he was Town Treasurer and a member of the Town Council. He was drowned off the Pawtuxet shore before 10 April 1666.

REBECCA RHODES, daughter of Zachariah, b. in Rehoboth, Mass., and lived in Providence and Pawtuxet; m. for her second husband, — Power; for her third husband, 7 December 1676, Daniel Williams. She afterwards had a fourth husband and died in 1727. (*See Williams.*)

Arnold

WILLIAM ARNOLD (Immigrant), youngest son of Thomas by his first wife, b. Cheselbourne, England, 24 June 1587; m. Christian Peake; d. Providence, Rhode Island, 1676±. William resided at Cheselbourne, where on 23 November 1616 he was appointed Administrator to the estate of his brother John and guardian to his children during their minority. In 1635, with his family, he left Dorsetshire and came to New England. After residing a short time at Hingham, he became associated, in 1641, with Roger Williams and others in the purchase from the Indians of lands at Mooshausick, which was afterwards called Providence. Mr. Arnold received "large portions" in Providence, Pawtuxet and Warwick. He was held in much esteem and filled various important offices of trust. The scanty records of Rhode Island afford very little information respecting him, not even the time

COLONIAL DESCENT

of his death being known. The last mention of him in the Colonial Records of the Proceedings of the General Court at Providence, 9 March 1658-9, states that he was lately robbed of property at Pawtuxet by the Indians. He was one of the fifty-four Proprietors. His son, Benedict, became the wealthiest man in the Colony and succeeded Roger Williams as Governor.

JOANNA ARNOLD, daughter of William, b. 27 February 1617; m. for her third husband, Zachariah Rhodes; d. 1692. (*See Rhodes.*)

Peake

THOMAS PEAKE, of Muohenny, descended from Ynir, King of Gwentland, second Calwaladdadar, King of the Britons, who built Abergavenny and its castle; m. Nesta, daughter of Jestin of Gurgom, King of Glamargan.

CHRISTIAN PEAK (Immigrant), daughter of Thomas; b. 16 December 1593; m. William Arnold; d. 12 April 1663. (*See Arnold.*)

Abbott

DANIEL ABBOTT (Immigrant), of Providence, Rhode Island, b. England; d. 1647. His wife's name was Mary — who died in 1643. On 19 October 1630, he requested admission as free-man, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and 18 May 1631, was a Proprietor. On 4 June 1639, he went to Providence and owned and sold land there in 1644. He left two children, one of whom (Mary) married Thomas Walling. His son Daniel was a man of prominence and held numerous offices.

MARY ABBOTT, daughter of Daniel the Immigrant, m. Thomas Walling; d. 1669. (*See Walling.*)

Having now completed, as far as possible, the several lines through Williams Thayer, we will turn to those of Sarah Adams, his wife.

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Adams

WILLIAM ADAMS (Immigrant), of Ipswich, b. England; d. 1661. He is supposed to have been a son of Henry Adams, of Cambridge, Massachusetts. He was living there in 1635, was made a freeman, 22 May 1639, and removed to Ipswich before 1641. The "Essex Antiquarian" says, "He resided in that part of the town which is now Hamilton, on the river, the farm being that of the late Silsbee Adams." William Adams was one of the Selectmen of Ipswich in 1646, and in 1647 was discharged from "training" on account of his age. He was called a miller in 1654. His widow was living in 1681; her name has not been ascertained.

NATHANIEL ADAMS, son of William, b. Ipswich about 1641; m. Mercy Dickinson, 30 June 1668; d. 11 April 1715. He resided in Ipswich on his father's farm which he inherited. Mercy Dickinson was daughter of Thomas Dickinson of Rowley. They had seven children.

SAMUEL ADAMS, son of Nathaniel, b. Ipswich, 29 June 1682; m. (published) 28 September 1706, Mary Burley; d. 13 August 1747. He lived on his father's farm, one-half of which was deeded to him by his father when he married. He was chosen often to public office, was a man of sterling integrity and amassed a handsome estate. He had eleven children.

JOHN ADAMS, son of Samuel, b. in the "Hamlet Parish" (now Hamilton) and was baptized in June 1722; m. Mary Hunt, of Concord, 31 October 1745; d. 24 April 1796. He resided in Sutton and had eight children.

SARAH ADAMS, daughter of John, b. 3 May 1756; m. Williams Thayer, 22 May 1780, in Northbridge; d. Providence, Rhode Island, 5 August 1800. She settled in Charleston, South Carolina, soon after her marriage. Sarah Adams was my great-grandmother.

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Henry W. Lothrop

Sarah Adams had a brother, Jonathan Adams, b. 26 February 1748; m. Sarah Wood; d. 14 October 1823. Jonathan was the grandfather of Mr. Henry W. Lothrop, who once managed our family affairs. He had a son, Henry W. Lothrop, Jr. They lived in John Street, Providence, Rhode Island. The son never married. He took care of his mother, who lived to a great age. When the son died, he left \$100,000, which was scattered among an enormous number of people and gave the executors much trouble. The division was such a curiosity, that it was printed and hung on the walls of the Rhode Island Hospital Trust Company's private office for some time. It covered the whole of one side of the room.

Hunt

WILLIAM HUNT (Immigrant), b. England, 1605; m. Elizabeth (Best?), who d. 27 December 1661. He d. Marlborough, 1667. William Hunt sailed in 1635 for America. He was one of the petitioners to the Governor and Assembly in 1645 concerning matters of finance.

NEHEMIAH HUNT, son of William, b. 1631; m. Concord, Mary Toll, 1 June 1663; d. Concord, 6 March 1717-18.

WILLIAM HUNT, son of Nehemiah, b. Concord, 1678; m. about 1712, Mary Carly; d. 15 May 1755, at Concord.

MARY HUNT, daughter of William, b. Concord, 22 May 1718; m. John Adams, 31 October 1745; d. 4 April 1787, aged sixty-nine. They had eight children. They lived in Sutton. (*See Adams.*)

Burley

GYLES BURLEY (Immigrant), of Ipswich, m. Elizabeth —.

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Very little is known about him. He was an inhabitant of Ipswich in 1648 and a Commoner in 1664. He was a planter.

CORNET ANDREW BURLEY, son of Gyles, b. Ipswich, 5 September 1657; m. 14 March 1681-2, Mary, daughter of Lot Conant, of Beverly; d. 1 February 1718-19.

MARY BURLEY, daughter of Andrew, b. 28 April 1688; m. (published) 28 September 1706, Samuel Adams, of Ipswich; d. Worcester, 5 March 1772, aged eighty-four. They had eleven children. (*See Adams.*)

Dickinson

THOMAS DICKINSON (Immigrant), m. in England, Jenet —; buried, 1st mo. 1662. He resided in Rowley, Massachusetts, in 1643, and had a 1-1½ acres house lot on Bradford Street. He was one of the most prominent of the Rowley Settlers. In 1649 he was Constable, and for several years filled the office of Selectman. He became a large land-owner.

MERCY DICKINSON, daughter of Thomas, b. Rowley, 8th mo. 1646; m. Nathaniel Adams; d. Ipswich, 12 December 1735. They had seven children. (*See Adams.*)

Conant

GOVERNOR ROGER CONANT (Immigrant), of the Cape Ann Colony, was one of the most distinguished immigrants to Massachusetts, and the ancestor of nearly all of the Conants in America. He was baptized in All Saints' Church, in the parish of East Budleigh, Devonshire, England, 9 April 1592. He was the youngest of eight children. His parents were Richard and Agnes (Clark) Conant. Roger settled in London about 1610, and m. Sarah Horton in St. Ann's parish, Black Friars, 11 November 1618. He probably came in the "Ann" to Plymouth about

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July 1623. He was not in sympathy with the principles of rigid separation which prevailed in Plymouth. He was a Puritan, or non-conformist.

In 1625, he took charge of the Cape Ann settlement on the west side of Gloucester harbor, near Stage Head. Later, he moved to Salem with forty out of the two hundred original settlers. John Woodbury was with him. In 1626, he built the first house in Salem, "the great frame house" said to have come from England and which was removed to Salem in the autumn. It is now a stable on the north side of Church Street, near Washington Street.*

"Although Roger Conant is not universally recognized as the first governor of Massachusetts, he is fairly entitled to that honor. He was governor for over three years of the Cape Ann and Salem colony, and upon that foundation the Massachusetts Bay Colony arose. When Endicott arrived, Conant gave up his authority." ("The Conant Family," page 108.)

"He was frequently called to offices of honor and trust, both by his fellow townsmen and the General Court. In 1632, he was chosen to set bounds between Dorchester and Roxbury. On 14 May 1634, he was chosen one of the delegates from Salem to the General Court, the second representative Assembly to meet in America. In 1635-6, he was one of a committee to oversee the landed interests. In 1637, he was foreman of the Jury of Trials, and the same year, a Justice of the Quarterly Court at Salem, and also to certify the bounds between Salem and Saugus. In 1639, he arranged for the building of a new meeting-house. In 1643, he was chosen 'to settle bounds between Salem and Ipswich.' He was many times a selectman. Both he and his wife were among the original members of the first church at Salem, and in 1637, both signed the removal Covenant."

He died 19 November 1679, in his eighty-eighth year.

LOT CONANT, son of Roger, b. about 1624, is said to have been the first white child born in Salem; m. Elizabeth Walton who was born in England; d. 29 September 1674. In 1662, he was a Selectman; 25 May 1674, one of the 114 householders and on 20 November 1666, his father gave him the homestead and thirty-two acres at Beverly. They had five sons and five daughters.

* *Hist. Col. Essex Inst.*, February, 1860.

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MARY CONANT, daughter of Lot, b. Beverly, 14 July 1662; m. 14 March 1681-2, Cornet Andrew Burley; d. 23 November 1743. (*See* Burley.)

Walton

REV. WILLIAM WALTON (Immigrant), of Marblehead, b. in England; d. 1668. He took his degree at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1621. In 1625, he was settled over the parish at Seaton, Devonshire, where Elizabeth, his daughter, was baptized 1629. He is thought to have been at Hingham, as early as 1635. On 3 March 1636, he was made a freeman. He settled at Marblehead as early as 1639 and was pastor there until his death.

ELIZABETH WALTON, daughter of Rev. William, was baptized in England, 27 October 1629. She became the wife of Lot Conant. (*See* Conant.)

Records & Personal Reminiscences

Williams Thayer was educated as a surgeon, and, when a young man, served in that capacity on the ship "Argo" in the Continental Service during the Revolutionary War. I possess his original discharge papers which he received at the close of that war. After his marriage, he settled in Charleston, South Carolina, became a merchant (Thayer & Bartlett) and acquired a large fortune. Later in life, he retired and built a brick house in Providence, where he entertained with generous hospitality. The fortune which he had acquired by so many years of toil was taken from him in a very brief period, as narrated in the following extract from "Travels through the United States of America in the Years 1795-1796 and 1797," by the Duke de la Rochefoucault Lioncourt, vol. ii, p. 146, London, 1799:

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"We—for I have again joined company with M. Guillemand—we have passed the chief part of the time that we spent in Providence at the home of Mr. Thayer, with whom I had been acquainted at Charleston, where he has long resided and carried on with prodigious success a very expensive and rich trade. He conducted his great commercial enterprizes with a sufficient degree of prudence to avoid those speculations so common among the merchants of America; yet that caution has not saved him from experiencing the greatest reverses in his fortune. He had endorsed to a considerable amount the notes of a house at New York, one of the most opulent and respectable in that city. But the house in question had so deeply speculated on the high prices of flour and rice in Europe that it has stopped payment and the responsibility falls on Mr. Thayer. He will not be ruined by this event; in all probability even his affairs will be settled; for the house at New York will again carry on business, and he himself, by his own single exertions, would, at his present stage of life, be capable of retrieving his fortune if it were totally ruined. But his credit and his delicacy suffer severely on the occasion. He nevertheless supports his disaster with a calm fortitude, and confidence in the return of fortune, which at once furnish his friends with a ground of hope, and himself with the means of success. His name is so implicated in this unfortunate business that he has made to those who hold the notes of that house, endorsed by him, an offer of £40,000 sterling on condition of their cancelling his name.

"Mr. Thayer is otherwise rich, being heir to a considerable family estate which is in the hands of his mother. He is descended in direct line from Roger Williams, the founder of Providence Plantation. Mr. Thayer's house is built on the same spot where that founder, his progenitor, cut down the first tree and erected the first hut."

My grandmother, Harriot Brown, had six children, five born in Nassau. The youngest, Mrs. John Carter Brown, who recently died in Newport, Rhode Island, was born in Providence, Rhode Island. Emily died in Paris, France, on her tenth birthday. Augusta died in Nassau at the age of six. Adeline married Nathaniel Church, of Providence. She was a beautiful woman. I remember her with great affection. She had three children who died of scarlet fever early in life. Patrick Henry Brown, my grandmother's eldest child, died at the age of three. In 1827, the family removed to Paris, but the climate not proving favorable to my grandfather's health, they returned to Nassau, and remained there until his death, 15 January 1845.

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In 1848, the family moved to Providence; my mother, my sister and my brother, with Mr. and Mrs. Church, all lived with my grandmother at 46 Williams Street, Providence, a large brick house standing on some of the Roger Williams land. It is still a handsome house, in excellent condition and exactly as it was in my childhood, except that a special library building has been added. My grandmother survived all her children, except Mrs. John Carter Brown, and I practically lived alone with her in the last year of her life. She was a very remarkable woman, of wonderful mind and character, and at the age of seventy-nine, entertained her guests with grace and intellectual vivacity. She had been a great traveller, and in Italy began excavations at Pompeii, which were later taken up seriously by the Italian Government. I now possess a Roman lamp and a small vase which were among the objects she excavated. She inherited several relics from Roger Williams through his granddaughter, Rebecca; one was the compass which was in his pocket when he was banished from Salem; another was a small spy-glass which was given to Rev. Andrew Rogers. The land which she owned in Providence descended from Roger or his son and grandson, and has never been out of the family. I remained with my grandmother until her death in 1867, when I went to the West to seek my fortune.

My mother, who was called the belle of Nassau, married my father in Nassau, and three of the children were born there. Lieutenant FitzGerald was stationed there with his regiment, the Second West Indian. The following is a copy of the notice of the wedding:

“Married at Bellevue, Nassau, New Providence, on Thursday morning, 31st of January, 1839, by the Reverend William Hepworth, A.M., Lieutenant Lionel C. W. H. FitzGerald, K. T. S. of the 2d W. I. Regt., eldest son of Colonel FitzGerald, K. H. of Turlough Park, Co. Mayo, Ireland, to Sarah Caroline, second daughter of the Hon. Patrick Brown, President of Her Majesty’s Honourable Council of the Bahama Islands.”

Memorials of my father’s family will constitute Part Second of these records.

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The family all left Nassau in 1848, when I was two years old, and came to Providence to reside. My grandfather's house, in Nassau, of which I have a picture, was on the hill, just back of the old hotel. It was a fine house, built, I believe, to withstand tornadoes and put together with knees, like a ship, and it was surrounded by a large estate. When my cousin John Nicholas Brown and I visited Nassau in 1886, we found the house still standing. It was occupied by the Attorney-General, who knew my grandfather well. One day he invited me to visit him, and taking me into the dining-room, he placed me at the head of the table and addressed me as follows: "This house has never been changed since it was built. You see it just as it has always been, hurricane shutters and all. Your grandfather was very hospitable. Where you are now standing, he once sat and entertained his guests, and I now wish you to drink a glass of sherry with me," which I did.

We found the old family burial lot in a sad state of decay and resolved to put it in order. In the centre of the lot was a large tree which, in growing, had displaced some of the tombstones. The iron fence surrounding the lot was on the ground, and deteriorating for lack of paint. Just outside of one corner grew a fine royal palm, which had been pushed over by the growth of the large tree already alluded to. The heavy white marble tombstones were covered with inscriptions, which could not be readily deciphered from lack of a little blackening. As our stay in Nassau was short, we resolved to begin repairs at once, knowing how long it took to complete work in the tropics. We soon found that, as a preliminary to making any changes on our own lot, it would be necessary to secure the permission of the government. Accordingly, we drew up a petition and followed it up personally, so that we were soon in possession of a formidable document, duly attested, allowing us to proceed. We had the tree cut, the fence restored, tombstones reset, inscriptions blackened and a row of flowers planted around the enclosure. No one had done anything to the lot since 1849,

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and possibly many more years will elapse before anything more is done.

Supplementary

Thayer Family, of Paris, France, and the Wilkinsons

JAMES THAYER, b. Gloucester, 25 January 1763; m. Orleans, France, Harriet Beck, 13 December 1795; d. Paris, France, 10 May 1835. He was a brother of Williams Thayer, and was the founder of the french branch of the family. Although somewhat out of the direct line, I have decided to give some space in these memorials to his interesting career. This line is now extinct, his children having left no descendants. Both he and his wife are buried in Père Lachaise. She was b. 16 April 1770, and d. in Paris, 17 April 1850.

James Thayer went to Paris, when he was about thirty years of age, in connection with securing remuneration from the french government for the confiscation of a cargo seized from one of his brother's ships. It was during the time of Charlotte Corday and the Reign of Terror, followed by the five years of the "Directoire." The properties of "Les Émigrés" had been seized and were being sold to whoever was ready to purchase. Among these was the superb estate belonging to the Duc de Montmorency-Luxembourg, bordering on the Boulevards, which were, at that time, far from the centre of the life of the city. The "hôtel" was filled with the most magnificent creations of art and long salons of imposing height surrounded the principal court. It is difficult to see what connection this grand estate could possibly have with a poor American from Gloucester, but Mr. Thayer was a man of wonderful foresight and ability. On the 24th February 1797, the Montmorency estate had been sold for 300,000 francs, and for the "bien national." On the 14th October 1798, it was again sold for the same sum to a wealthy manufacturer, Jean Baptiste Decrelot, who owned a chateau in Louviers (Eure) in Normandy. It is supposed that he removed

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the furnishings to his chateau, and on the 6th May 1800 sold the estate to Mrs. Thayer, for 195,000 francs. Williams Thayer aided in financing the purchase. The following were the terms of payment: 23,000 francs down, 23,000 at the end of a year, 18,000 at the end of eighteen months, and the remainder at subsequent dates. Mr. Thayer had a purpose in undertaking this investment. He wished to exhibit a panorama. Robert Fulton, who was in England in 1797, in connection with his inventions of steamboats, heard of the success in Edinburgh of the first panorama and secured the rights. In 1798, he went to Paris and patented them, but as he was very busy and could find no good place in which to erect a panorama, he sold his rights to Mr. Thayer, and the latter bought the Montmorency property for the purpose of entering upon a new enterprise. He probably little realized that, in taking this step, he was laying the foundation of a very large fortune. The Boulevard Montmartre, upon which the Montmorency estate abutted, was at that time an unpaved and unlighted street on the outskirts of the city. In 1800, the first panorama was erected. It was a view of Paris and was followed soon afterwards by another, "Toulon," and several years later by a third, "Camp at Boulogne." Success arrived at once, and the Thayers were enabled to meet their obligations with ease. The Montmorency estate became their property. In the meantime Paris was recovering from the effects of the revolution. Through Mr. Thayer's efforts new streets were opened, and he began, on a large scale, the erection of shops and the purchase of other real estate. In 1809, at the suggestion of Napoleon, an enormous panorama was erected on the other side of the Boulevard. It represented some of his battle scenes and all Paris rushed to see it. Other panoramas added were: 1812, Amiens; 1821, Jerusalem; 1824, Athens. In 1831, the three Montmorency panoramas were demolished to permit the construction of the Rue Vivienne. It was in this year that some of the Thayer land was sold at 1000 francs per metre. Between 1835 and 1860, however, the development of

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this part of Paris was phenomenal and the Thayer fortune increased proportionately. A master mind directed the development of the investments. In 1834, the Montmorency "hôtel" was demolished and the shops comprising the Passage des Panoramas increased. They still exist as a Society.

James Thayer and Henriette Beck had two sons and a daughter.

ELVIRA PONTINE THAYER, b. 13 September 1797; d. Paris, 22 December 1804.

AMÉDÉE ROGER WILLIAMS GOURCY THAYER, b. Orleans, France, 13 August 1799; m. in Paris, 10 May 1828, Hortense Eugénie Bertrand, daughter of General Bertrand; d. Paris, 6 July 1868; buried at the Chateau at Touvent. They had issue:

I. NAPOLEON ROGER WILLIAMS THAYER, b. Paris, France, 29 December 1832; d. Paris, France, 21 February 1842.

II. HENRY BERTRAND JAMES JOSEPH THAYER, b. 26 March 1839; d. 17 June 1840.

III. FRANÇOIS MARIE THAYER, à Dieu-donné, 10 April 1849.

EDWARD JAMES THAYER, b. Paris, 9 May 1802; m. in Paris, 22 November 1834, Marie Louise Antoinette Arrighi de Casanova de Padoue, daughter of the Duc de Padoue; d. at his chateau Fontenay les Bries, near Paris, 11 September 1859 (I stayed at this chateau in 1857); buried at Père Lachaise.

My cousin, Mrs. William Watts Sherman, has a beautiful life-size portrait of James Thayer, the father, which was sent her mother after Hortense's death in 1890. Amédée had three children, who all died unmarried and are buried at Touvent. Edward had no children of his own.

The following inscriptions are taken from tombstones:

"EDWARD JAMES THAYER, Sénateur, Membre du Conseil Municipal de Paris, ancien Directeur Général des Postes, Commandeur de l'ordre impérial de la légion d'honneur, et membre de plusieurs ordres étrangers, né le 9 Mai 1802, décédé le 11 Septembre 1859."

"MARIE LOUISE ANTOINETTE ARRIGHI DE CASANOVA DE PADOUE, veuve de Edouard James Thayer, née le 11 Déc. 1812, décédée le 2. Juin 1866."

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“LOUISE MARIE DE MONTBONNE, née Fillippini, décédée fille adoptive de Madame Edouard Thayer, le 12 Juillet, 1867, à l'âge de 21 ans.”

In ending this brief review of the french branch of the family, it only remains for me to add a few words in regard to the close and friendly relations which existed between the american and the french lines throughout nearly the whole of the nineteenth century, to a portion of which I was a personal witness. When I was at school in Paris in 1857-8, everything was done by both Edward and Amédée Thayer to make my visit agreeable. As a boy I was a frequent visitor to the Tuileries and present at court functions and other interesting events. For instance, I stood by the side of Napoleon III when he opened the Boulevard de Sébastopol, and looked over his notes when he declared the Boulevard opened, and once sat, with the maids of honor, behind the Emperor and Empress in their private chapel. As it was etiquette for men to stand, I was the only male who was seated, other than the Emperor. Whenever the family visited Paris, the warmest hospitality was shown them.

The following extract from the diary of the late W. I. Hopkin, of Rhode Island, will give a little idea of the nature of this hospitality, owing to the reputation and wealth of the Thayers:

“April 23d, 1837. I dined at Madame Thayer's, Rue de Menars. It was truly a delightful party. There were fifteen or twenty guests, the Duke of Padua; an officer of the British Army and his wife; a Colonel in the French Army who was distinguished at the siege of Constantine; a French Captain and several others, were there. I was placed at the table between the Duke of Padua and Madame Amédée Thayer, who is the daughter of General Bertrand and was at Saint Helena with Bonaparte. She was one of the most beautiful women I have seen in France, although thin and pale from the effects of long illness. She speaks English as well as I do and conversed with me with a frankness and amiability which left nothing to be desired. She said that her recollections of St. Helena and of Bonaparte are very vivid although it is sixteen years since she came from there. She spoke of enjoying herself there greatly and said she would even be willing to return. . . . The dinner was very fine and splendidly served on plate. There were six servants, four of them being in livery. In the centre of the table was an immense silver plateau

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on which were displayed the douceurs. The wines were of the highest order, particularly the Sauterne and the Champagne."

The Duc de Padoue was a near relative of Napoleon Bonaparte.

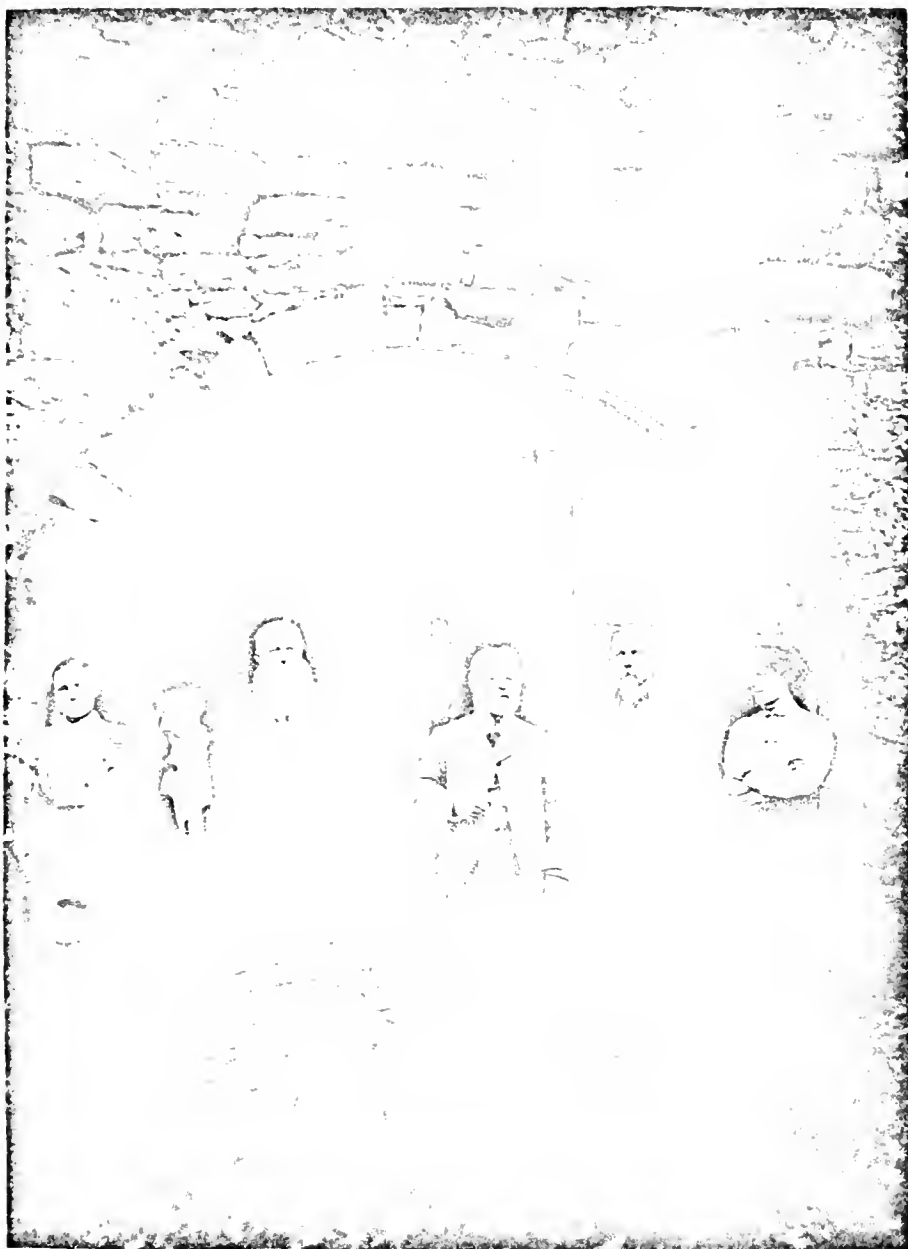
When I was in Paris at school both James Thayer and his wife were dead, but their sons continued the generous hospitality of their parents. Both were French Senators, and one of them (Edward) had also been a Director-General of the Posts. Amédée was noted for his benefactions. He was one of the founders of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, and I have known him to order his carriage and leave the dinner-table in the middle of the meal to go to the relief of some needy person. His fortune still supports a religious and educational institution at Touvent, and a large part of Edward's fortune went to the Catholic Church. In a large cabinet, in one of the parlors, were Napoleonic relics. My cousin, the late Harold Brown, of Newport, Rhode Island, owned the three small tables which were used at St. Helena by Napoleon, General Bertrand and his daughter at their meals.

Wilkinsons

My grandmother, Harriot Thayer, had a brother, Williams Thayer, b. in Charleston, South Carolina, 13 November 1795; m. Lucy Swain, 25 April 1836. (She d. Putnam, Connecticut, 22 December 1860.) He d. Providence, Rhode Island, 9 April 1853. I remember seeing him at our house, 46 Williams Street. His daughter, Harriot Augusta Thayer, b. Woodstock, Connecticut, 18 July 1837; m. Edmund Wilkinson, 24 November 1856. Mr. Wilkinson was a manufacturer living in Putnam and possessed of an independent fortune. They lived later in Greenwich, Connecticut, where they died. Their four sons died without issue.

PART SECOND

Irish Descent



*Family Group
Old Abbey, Turtough Park*

PART SECOND

Irish Descent

MY father, Lionel C. W. H. FitzGerald, was an officer in the English army. He was a member of the family of FitzGeralds of Turlough, fully described in Burke's "Landed Gentry of Ireland." The family is a very old one, but has never been more than a county family well connected and active and vigorous in various directions.

Several attempts have been made by interested parties to trace the descent of the Turlough FitzGeralds from the old titled families, but with indifferent success, and my own belief is that there has never been any solid ground for the extravagant statements which have been made in books on the "Landed Gentry" with regard to the wealth or titles supposed to have existed in the family in the dim past. After careful investigation I am satisfied that there were never any titles other than those gained in war, and never much wealth. The Turlough Park estate disappeared from our branch of the family for many years and has only recently returned, by failure of various lines, to my first cousin Desmond Gerald FitzGerald, who is now the owner of the property and with his brothers and sisters is living there. He is a man of fine character, unmarried, and undoubtedly administers the old estate with justice and generosity.

On the authority of Burke, the following is the lineage of the Turlough FitzGeralds.

FitzGerald

"**LINEAGE.** The family descends traditionally from Thomas FitzGerald (3d son of Maurice, Knight of Kerry), who m. the daughter and heir of O'Dae or O'Dea, Chief of Ida in Kilkenny and assumed in consequence the name of O'Dea by which the family were known till the end of the sixteenth century, when they resumed the name of FitzGerald.

IRISH DESCENT

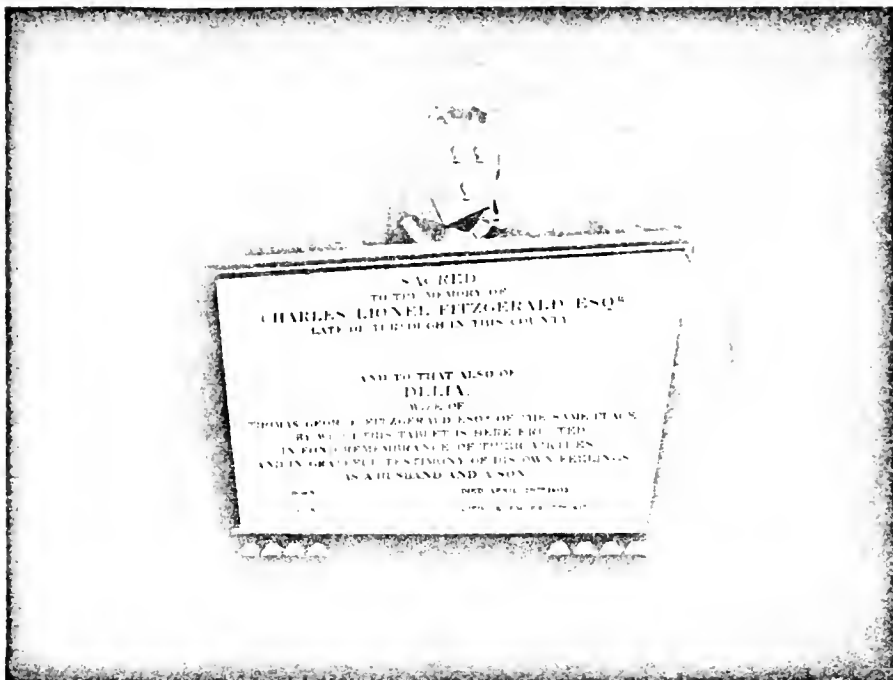
"According to the registered pedigree Thomas, great-grandson of the above mentioned Thomas FitzGerald or O'Dea, sat in the Parliament held before Thomas Earl of Desmond in 1465. Thomas, said to be his son, was member of the Parliament held at Trian, before Gerald, Earl of Kildare in 1490. 'Thomas O'Dea of Gurtyns, Co. Kilkenny, Gent.' was pardoned 6 July 1549. 'Thomas FitzGarrols, alias Adave, of Gurtchines, Co. Kilkenny, Gent.' was pardoned 24 May 1566. 'Thomas O'Dea of Gurtines, Gent.' was pardoned 24 December 1571. About this time the name of O'Dea disappears altogether from public records, but Nicholas FitzGerald of Gurtins is frequently mentioned on juries in the reign of Elizabeth.

"An inquisition was taken 21 July 1607, to ascertain the title of Nicholas FitzGerald of 'La Gurteens' to his lands in the barony of Ida, Co. Kilkenny, and the jury found that he was seized of them by hereditary descent. Nicholas then surrendered his entire estate to the Crown 8 December 1607, and a new grant of them on the 17 December following.

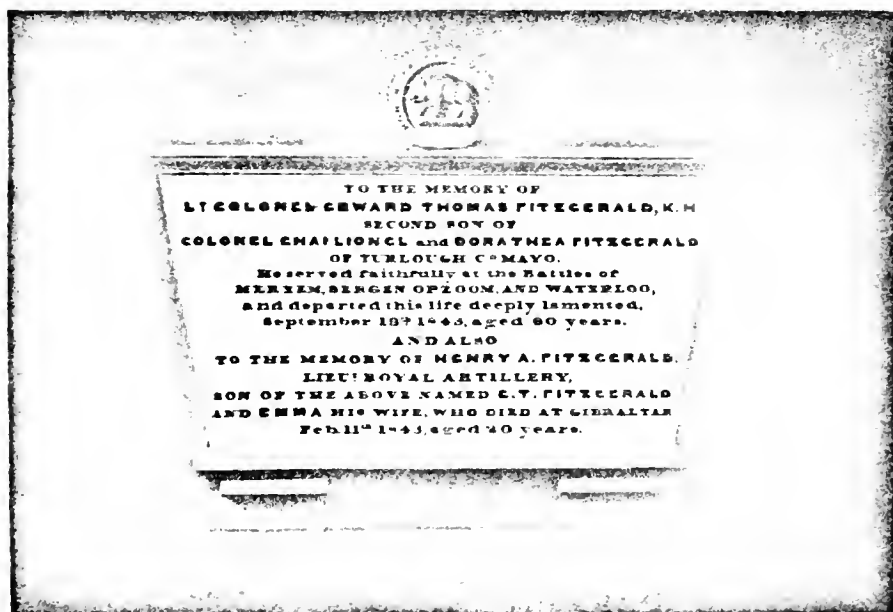
"He was the son of Thomas FitzGerald and married Helena, daughter of Piers Bourke, alias Gall of Gallstown and died September 1617 and was buried at Downpatrick (M. I.) leaving a son and heir Patrick then aged 50. Patrick's son or grandson was John FitzGerald of Gurtines, County Kilkenny; he was authorized 21 December 1653 to remove to Connaught and was planted in the parish of Turlough, County Mayo, where he was assigned to one-half of the estates of Walter Bourke; confirmed to him under the act of settlement 1677. He married (settlement dated 19 June 1669) Elizabeth, youngest daughter of Sir John Browne, Baronet, of the Neale, County Mayo. His will, dated 23 July 1717, was proved 21 January 1720. He died at Mohiny in Turlough."

JOHN FITZGERALD, of Gurtines, County Kilkenny, Ireland, was authorized 21 December 1653 to remove to Connaught, and settled in Turlough, County Mayo. He was allotted half of the estates of Walter Bourke which were afterwards confirmed to him under the act of settlement 1677. He married (settlement dated 19 June 1669) Elizabeth, youngest daughter of Sir John Browne, Bar't. of the Neale, ancestor of the noble house of Kilmaine.

THOMAS FITZGERALD, son of John, b. 1661; m. 1st, Elizabeth Ferron, 2d, Henrietta Browne; d. 15 July 1747, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, ending, says his tombstone in Turlough, "a life of as few failings and as many virtues as ever fell



In Memory of my Great-grandfather



*In Memory of my Grandfather
Tablets in Church, Turlough Park
(Photographed by Desmond Fitz-Gerald)*

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to the share of human." He was succeeded by his son John, who died and was succeeded by his brother. By his second wife he had issue:

GEORGE FITZGERALD, son of Thomas, a captain in the Austrian service, m. 31 October 1745, Lady Mary Hervey, second daughter of John, Lord Hervey; d. 23 June 1782.

CHARLES LIONEL FITZGERALD, son of George, Lieutenant-Colonel of the North Mayo Militia, m. 1777, Dorothea Butler, great-granddaughter of the Bishop of Bangor. She d. 11 April 1829. He d. 29 April 1805 and was succeeded at Turlough by his eldest son, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas George FitzGerald, b. 5 June 1778.

EDWARD THOMAS FITZGERALD, K. H., second son of Charles Lionel, b. 22 December 1784; m. 20 November 1811, Emma, youngest daughter of Edmund Green, Esq., of Medham in the Isle of Wight; d. 19 September 1845, aged sixty. She d. 6 February 1862, aged seventy-two. He was a Lieutenant-Colonel in the army, and served faithfully at the battles of Merxem, Bergen, Opgoom, and Waterloo.

LIONEL CHARLES HENRY WILLIAM FITZGERALD, son of Edward Thomas, b. 9 September 1812; m. 31 January 1839, Nassau, New Providence, Bahama Islands, Sarah Caroline Brown; d. Australia, 21 December 1894. A Captain in the army; he served in Portugal under Don Pedro from 1832 to the establishment of Donna Maria on the throne in 1834, and was made K.T.S. for gallant service.

DESMOND FITZGERALD, son of Lionel. (*See* p. 6.)

Account of a Visit to Turlough Park

The Home of my Ancestors

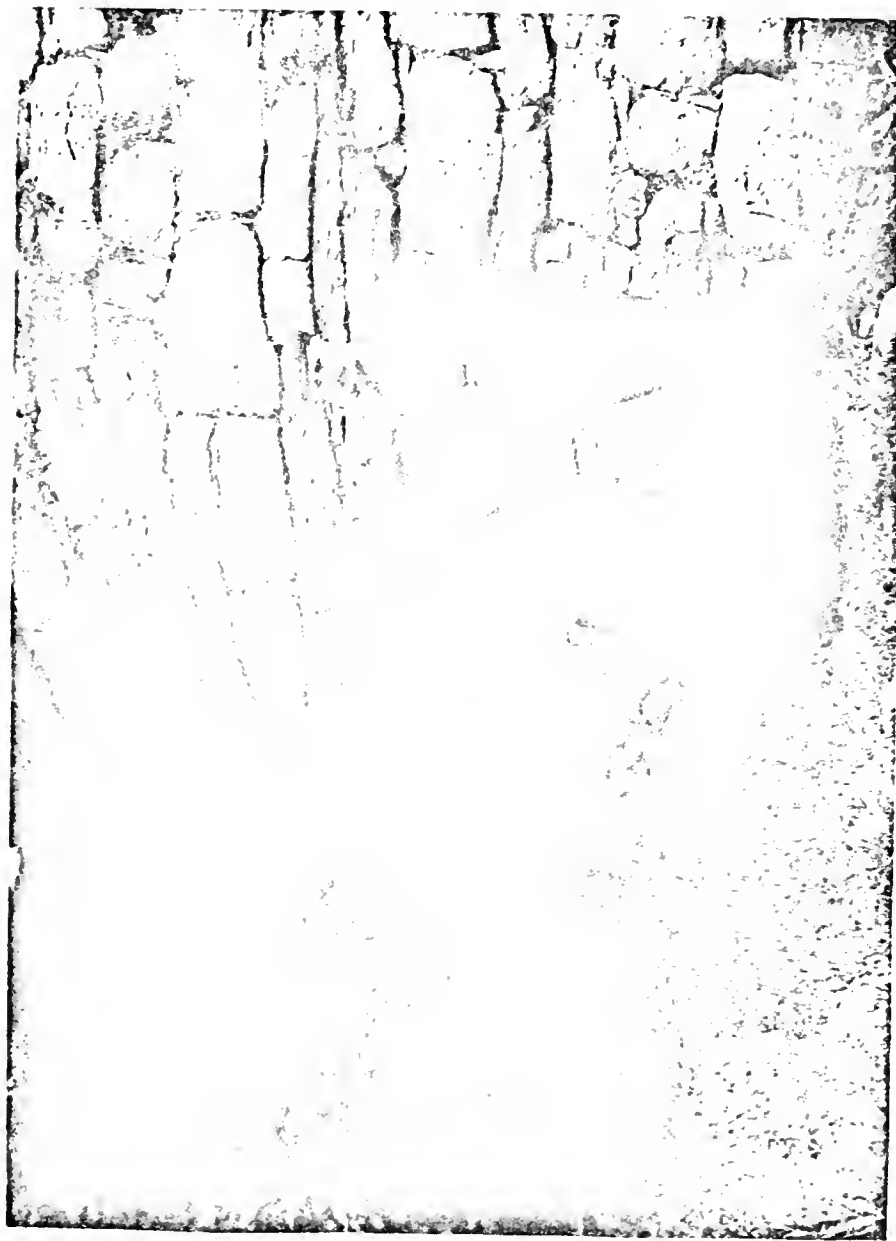
June 20, 1900

FOR many years it had been my intention to visit Turlough, which is near Castlebar in the western part of Ireland, but after

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my visit to Lismoy to see my grandmother in 1857, I had lost almost all connection with my Irish relatives. In 1900, both of my sons were graduated from Harvard and I planned to give them a little glimpse of the other side of the Atlantic during the vacation season. I was to join the boys later in Germany, and, on the way, left the steamer at Cork in order to take the train northerly, by way of the westerly coast of Ireland, to Castlebar. I reached Cork a little before midnight and was soon snatching a few hours' sleep.

On the morning of June 20, I rose at 6.30 in order to take the first train for Limerick and Clanmorris, at both of which places there was a change of cars. At 3.30 the train reached Castlebar and I quickly engaged a room at the Imperial Hotel. A little later an Irish jaunting-car was taking me toward the village of Turlough. The driver was a lad of intelligence and originality. From him I learned that an elderly gentleman by the name of Charles FitzGerald was living at The Park and that a Desmond FitzGerald was living at one of the houses on the estate, Charleville, beyond the manor house. Who could this be? Was it my Uncle Desmond whom I had seen when a boy at Lismoy? In another moment we were rolling into the picturesque hamlet, built on the FitzGerald property and known as Turlough. I paused long enough to admire the overhanging trees and the straggling houses and in a moment more we were passing the entrance gate of the Park. I stopped the car. Should I enter? The driver informed me that I could not go in unless I had "business." Had I business? that was the question. For a moment I thought of giving it all up and driving on, but decided differently, and the gate was swung open from the Lodge and we were soon passing over a hard, smooth driveway leading to the house, which I saw at once was the residence of refined and cultured people. "Shall I take in your card?" This was soon found and I was ushered into a beautiful library, where I sat down under a large Venetian chandelier. After a long time, an elderly gentleman entered the room



Old Round Tower, Turlough Park

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with my card in his hand. Coming over to me he said, "Are you a relative of mine?" and I was soon occupied in answering his questions. His speech came slowly and it was evidently an effort for him to collect his thoughts. Charles Lionel FitzGerald was born in 1833. I afterwards learned that he had recently had an illness from which he had not entirely recovered. He was a distant cousin and gave me as warm a welcome as I could desire. I told him that I had always wished to see the round tower which was one of the sights of Turlough. He invited me to go out on the lawn and pointed to the tower against the sky. These towers antedate history, and their origin has been the source of much speculation. One of the finest of them is on the Turlough Park property and at its foot are the ruins of an old church, plainly shown in one of the photographs. While we were on the lawn two young ladies came up to us, one of whom proved to be Gwendoline, the youngest daughter of my Uncle Desmond, who, with my aunt, was living at Charleville, another house on the estate a half mile distant. I dined with them. Uncle Desmond I had last seen as a young man in 1857. He had become an old man of patriarchal mien and wore a long white beard. Both he and his wife, a Miss Crawford of Longford, have since died. He was living in the house in which he was born.

Later I visited the round tower of which the government has charge. The masonry is in an excellent state of preservation. The old abbey is particularly interesting. It is without roof and in a state of decay. I found a stone inscribed with the date 1020. Under one of the arches, shown in a photograph, my ancestors for several generations are buried. The inscriptions on some of the stones may be deciphered. I learned that Charles Lionel FitzGerald was once well off and drove his four-in-hand into Castlebar, but at the time of my visit he was comparatively poor except in land, of which he seemed to have many acres. I afterwards visited the sites of the former FitzGerald homes on the estate. The earliest of all is but an old ruined wall, some distance beyond Charleville, quite near a little river. It is notice-

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able that originally the houses were placed near to streams. In those days there were no steam pumps or plumbing conveniences. It was quite late that night when I drove back to Castlebar, but my mind was busy weaving stories and romances connected with the former inhabitants of Turlough, my forbears, now reposing in their long homes under the roofless abbey, or in the churchyard connected with the chapel on the estate. On a subsequent visit I made several photographs of scenes connected with the Park, a few of which are reproduced herewith.

As will be seen by an inspection of the table, the FitzGeralds have been in the army for a number of generations, and they seem to have been much inclined to the tented field. My father, Lionel, was an officer in the Second West Indian Regiment, and was stationed at Nassau when he met and married my mother. Under Part First of this volume will be found an account of how my mother, a descendant of the Puritans of New England, happened to have been a resident of a West Indian Island.

My father was an accomplished and daring horseman and had the reputation of being one of the best riders in the English army. He took part in tournaments, and the daring leap across a wide stream which he made at Turlough is still pointed out to visitors.

In 1832, my father, in company with many other British officers and soldiers, went to Portugal, where some active fighting was expected under the rival aspirants for the throne. Don Miguel led the Carlist movement and Don Pedro, in behalf of his youthful daughter, sought to establish a liberal constitution with Donna Maria at its head. This was the final winning side and it was greatly aided by English troops and by the English navy. The fighting culminated in the battle of Almoester, 18 February 1834, described by my father in the following words. He was stationed at the bridge where the final action opened and afterwards received the Order of the Tower and Sword from the government of Portugal for his gallant conduct on the field of battle.

*Fitz-Ronald Burial Place
Old Abbey Turlough Park*



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An Adventure in the Portuguese Army in 1834

The March

WHOEVER has witnessed Portuguese scenery must have been favorably impressed with its grandeur. The traveller may pursue his weary pilgrimage for miles with naught but mountain heather to attract his attention, but how amply is he repaid on nearing a Portuguese or Spanish hamlet. The eye that has wandered in vain over the rugged and barren wilderness in search of the habitation of man, at length rests on the pinnacles of a distant Moorish ruin which generally indicates the approach to a Spanish town. On arriving at the summit of this distant hill how impossible it is to do justice to the scene. The observer finds himself standing on the summit of an old Moorish fortification whose dilapidated walls, covered with ivy, seem to bid defiance to time. Such was the spot on which I halted with my regiment one thousand feet above the level of the most beautiful valley one could desire to behold.

A winding path sufficiently broad to admit one horse at a time enabled us with difficulty to reach the garden of Eden beneath. Many of us who were endeared to each other by long intercourse and many a hard fought field, paused half-way down to inhale the fragrance of the orange groves and listen to the rushing of the mountain torrent ere we entered the sweet village of Cintra (so well described by Byron in *Childe Harold*). The effect of the lance flags with the soldiers leading their horses down the mountain path, increased this charming scene, which was only interrupted by one accident. A restive horse missed his footing and rolled into the chasm below. The bugle recalled us to a sense of the danger as well as to our duty and at seven we entered Cintra.

After placing my troops in their stables, I procured a billet on the house of the Mayor, whose hospitality and that of his pretty daughters I shall long remember. Never having seen a regiment of English cavalry, they had a thousand questions to ask, and placing themselves on each side of me at dinner, I quite forgot the accident on the mountain side. A party was got up, the officers were all invited, and we danced quadrilles until six in the morning. Three happy days we passed at Cintra and receiving intelligence that Don Miguel's army had marched for Santarem, we followed in pursuit, our quarters on the road being not quite so comfortable, sometimes sleeping in the peasants' cottages where the fowls unceremoniously roosted on the bed and crowed at three in the morning. We reached Valle in eight days and came up with the enemy's rear guard, with whom we had a skirmish for the possession of a bridge, they wishing to retain both sides of it; however, a few broken heads decided the question and our pickets occupied the one side, theirs the other and we constantly exchanged conversation. The possession of Santarem

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being of consequence to us this friendly intercourse did not last long and the din of war was soon heard.

It was well known in our camp that the enemy contemplated a serious attack on our position. The possession of the bridge of Valle had long been a bone of contention. Former victories and the protracted war for the possession of Portugal, between the two brothers, had rendered the armies of both incredibly savage, no quarter being allowed or taken on either side.

It was an hour before daybreak on the 18th of February when I, as officer of the advanced picket, was lying under the canopy of heaven wrapt in my cloak, by the embers of a huge fire, with my head on a sack of potatoes for a pillow. I was roused by the sharp ring of a carbine, and had barely time to mount my horse when the videttes galloped in saying the enemy were endeavouring to surprise the post. Ere half the bridge was gained I attacked them and various advantages occurred. However, they never succeeded in forcing the passage, it being so narrow. After capturing an officer and ten men and with the assistance of one hundred men of the Fifth Cacaderos, who kept up a brisk fire of musketry, we succeeded in keeping them in check till the troops came to our assistance. Morning quickly dawned and on the vapoury mist clearing away the armies of both potentates, amounting to forty thousand men, were drawn up ready to contest the passage of this branch of the Tagus.

The banks of the river were beautifully wooded on both sides and covered with brush and wild flowers, through which the sharpshooters shot fast and with deadly aim. The heavy guns took up their position and twenty pieces of artillery opened their fire. Our troops calmly and confidently awaited the assault. Don Miguel and his staff were plainly to be seen riding along the rear of the line and animating the gunners—Alas, how soon were all his hopes blasted! The smoke rose in pyramids above the soldiers. A stream of Portuguese grenadiers glided swiftly down the left bank of the river and rushed against the opposing barriers. Our soldiers, being partly concealed at this point, arose, and with a smashing volley swept away the head of the column. Naught could be heard but the wildest shrieks of the combatants, the hissing of rockets, the whistling of shells, the fearful discharge of the guns and the rattling of musketry.

Still the enemy was obstinate, and forcing column after column in quick succession to the front, gained our side and the grenadiers commenced ascending the heights as our men retired. The reserves, consisting of three British regiments, were now brought forward and with their arms at the ready position, awaited the advance. Ere half the ascent was gained they poured down a murderous fire and with a cheer that rent the air hurled the confused mass into the river; hundreds were bayoneted, hundreds drowned. The cavalry were now called on to complete the work of destruction, but how terrible was the sight on the con-



*Family Group
Turtough Park, 1908*

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tested ground, wounded men crawling away, imploring mercy unheeded. The bridge was heaped with mutilated carcasses, burnt by the rockets. The riflemen with savage exultation throwing the bodies of wounded and slain into the river to make room for us to cross in pursuit, completed a scene which may be witnessed but is almost impossible to describe. Night closed in, we occupying the ground lately in possession of the enemy. Our loss amounted to six hundred men and officers.

Four months after the battle of Almoister, the forces of the Pretender, disheartened by a long series of defeats, surrendered to the forces of the "Young Queen." The sceptre so long wielded with tyranny and oppression was at length wrested from the grasp of a tyrant, now exiled in a foreign land.

BY AN EYE-WITNESS.

Nassau, 21 July 1838.

PART THIRD

English Descent

PART THIRD

English Descent: Hervey, Howard and the Percy Branch

HAVING traced the main line of FitzGerald as far as is now practicable, I turn to the marriage of Captain George FitzGerald of Turlough Park with Lady Mary Hervey, on 31 October 1745. By this alliance, the English pedigree leads backward through the lines of Hervey, Howard and Percy, three of the oldest and most distinguished families in England.

The history of this branch of the family is so full of interest that I have followed the line back to the Plantagenets, reversing this order to secure uniformity with Parts First and Second of these memorials, and giving brief biographical sketches, as far as possible, of each of the individuals forming a link in the chain.

Genealogical Table No. 2 will aid in a study of this work as far as the Hervey and Howard lines are concerned; the Percy branch is added later.

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, b. 1025; m. Matilda, daughter of Baldwin V, Count of Flanders; d. 9 September 1087. He was the natural son of Robert, Duke of Normandy, by Harlotta, daughter of a tanner in Falaise. He was active and fought his way to the English throne in 1066. He became the richest of the English kings.

HENRY I, son of William I, b. 1070; m. 1st, 11 November 1100, Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III;* d. 1 December 1135. He stole the throne from his older brother Robert, who was in the East, but he was not a bad ruler.

* Matilda (Editha) was the daughter of Malcolm III, Caenmor, King of Scotland, by Margaret his wife, who was sister and heir of Edgar Atheling and daughter of Edward the Exile, son of Edmond Ironsides, King of England, the last of the Saxon Princes in succession to the throne. Through this Princess, the royal family of England is directly descended from Alfred the Great, King of England.

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MATILDA, daughter of Henry I, m. Geoffrey Plantagenet.

GEOFFREY PLANTAGENET, Count of Anjou, b. Angers, France, 23 August—; m. 3 April 1127, Matilda, daughter of Henry I; d. 7 September 1150. His wife was the widow of the Emperor of Germany and was called "Maud the Empress." Geoffrey was known as "Geoffroi le Bel," and had the title of Duke of Normandy. He was in the habit of wearing a sprig of yellow broom in his hat, whence, probably, sprang the name "plante à genet." He was the father of the Plantagenet Kings, as the word is unknown in the annals of the Anjou family previous to his birth.

"His wedding was celebrated at Mans by three weeks of magnificent feasting. The young prince occupied his time by taking up arms against sundry rebel vassals, who were, in due time, reduced to obedience. By the death of Henry I, his father-in-law, he inherited the Duchy of Normandy, disputed by the Comte de Blois, which brought eight years of fighting. New troubles followed this war; Dubellai, Senechal d'Aquitaine, ravaged Anjou and was finally taken prisoner by Geoffrey; then Louis le Jeune demanded the release of the captive and enforced the demand with a large army. The devastation of several provinces followed, and finally the prisoner was given up. Geoffrey died at Chateau du Loir and was buried in the Cathedral of Mans, where, previous to 1793, his portrait, in enamel, in a steel setting, could be seen, together with the inscription:

*Ense tuo, princeps, praedonum turba
Ecclesiisque quias, pace vigenti, datur.*

Geoffrey left three children."

HENRY II, first of the Plantagenet kings, eldest son of Geoffrey Plantagenet and Maud the Empress, b. in 1133; m. Eleanor, divorced wife of Louis VII; d. 6 July 1189. His wife was the daughter of William V, Duke of Aquitaine. Henry was crowned 19 December 1154 and had a long, interesting and successful reign. He fought to break the strength of the ecclesiastical power.

JOHN, son of Henry II, b. 24 December 1166; m. 2d, Isabella, daughter of Aymer Taillefer, Count of Angoulême; d.

Genealogical Table No. 2

English Descent

1066 William the Conqueror, King of England = Matilda, dau. of Baldwin V
1087 (1066-1087)

1070 Henry I, King of England = Matilda, dau. of King Malcolm III
1135 (1100-1135)

Maud (the Empress), dau. of Henry I = Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou
1113-1150

1133 Henry II, King of England = Eleanor, dau. of Wm. Duke Aquitaine
1189 (1154-1189)

1166 John, King of England = Isabel, dau. of Aymen, Count of Angoulême
1216 (1199-1216)

1207 Henry III, King of England = Eleanor, dau. of Raymond, Count of Provence
1272 (1216-1272)

1239 Edward I, King of England = 2dly, Margaret, dau. of Philip III, of France (le Hardi)
1307 (1272-1307)

Thomas Plantagenet = Alice, dau. of Sir Roger Halye
1300-1338

Margaret, Duchess of Norfolk = John, Lord Segrave
1315-1353

Lady Elizabeth Segrave = John, Lord Mowbray, 4th Baron
1326-1369

Thomas de Mowbray, 1st Duke of Norfolk = Elizabeth Fitzalan, dau. of Earl of Arundel
1366-1399

Margaret de Mowbray = Sir Robert Howard
— 1436

John Howard, 1st Duke of Norfolk = Catherine, dau. of Lord Moleyns
1430-1485

Thomas Howard, 2d Duke of Norfolk = Elizabeth, dau. of Sir Frederick Tylney
1444-1524

Thomas Howard, 3d Duke of Norfolk = Lady Elizabeth Stafford, dau. of Duke of Buckingham
1473-1554

Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey = Frances de Vere, dau. of 15th Earl of Oxford
ab. 1517-1547

Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk = 2dly, Lady Margaret, dau. of Lord Audley
1536-1572

Thomas Howard, 1st Earl of Suffolk = Catherine Rich, dau. of Sir Henry Knevet
1561-1626

Theophilus Howard, 2d Earl of Suffolk = Lady Elizabeth Home, dau. of Lord Home
1584-1640

James Howard, 3d Earl of Suffolk = 2d, Barbara, Lady Wentworth, dau. of Sir Edward Villiers
1620-1689

Lady Elizabeth Howard = Sir Thomas Felton, 4th Bart., M.P.
1656-1681 — 1709

Lady Elizabeth Felton = John Hervey, 1st Earl of Bristol
1676-1741 1665-1751

John, Lord Hervey = Mary, dau. of Brig.-Gen. Nicholas Lepell
1696-1743

Lady Mary Hervey = Capt. George FitzGerald
1726-1815 — 1782

Lt.-Col. Charles Lionel FitzGerald = Dorothea Butler, dau. of Sir Thomas Butler
— 1805

Lt.-Col. Edward Thomas FitzGerald = Emma Green, dau. of Edmund Green, Esq.
1784-1845

Capt. Lionel C. W. H. FitzGerald = Sarah Caroline Brown, dau. of Hon. Patrick Brown
1812-1894

Desmond FitzGerald = Elizabeth P. C., dau. of Stephen Salisbury, M.D.
1846 —

ENGLISH DESCENT

19 October 1216. He was crowned 27 May 1199. He was a contemptible character.

HENRY III, son of John, b. 10 October 1206; m. 14 January 1236, Eleanor, daughter of Raymond Béranger, Count of Provence; d. 16 November 1272; crowned 28 October 1216; reigned fifty-six years. He was author of the remark, "One hour with a friend is better than twenty discourses in his honor," referring to the superiority of masses over sermons.

EDWARD I, son of Henry III, b. 17 June 1239; m. 2d, 8 September 1299, at Canterbury, Margaret, daughter of Philip III (le Hardi); d. 7 July 1307. He was crowned 19 August 1274, and was a strong ruler for thirty-five years, but hard on the Scotch. Great laws were made during his reign. His wife, "Margaret of France," d. 14 February 1317.

THOMAS PLANTAGENET (of Brotherton), eldest son of Edward I by "Margaret of France," his second wife, b. 1 June 1300; m. Alice, daughter of Sir Roger Halys; d. August 1338. He was created Earl of Norfolk 16 December 1312, and after his death the earldom became extinct. Courthope says that as it was created to the heirs of his body, it possibly passed through Margaret and Segrave to Mowbray.

MARGARET, Duchess of Norfolk, daughter of Thomas Plantagenet, b. about 1320; m. 1st, John, third Lord Segrave, before 15 December 1338; d. 24 March 1399, aged about eighty. She was *sui jure*, Countess of Norfolk, eldest daughter and co-heir of her father. By the death of her niece, Joan, Countess of Suffolk, she became sole heir to her father's earldom and was styled "Margaret Marshal, Countess of Norfolk." On the 29th September 1397, she was created Duchess of Norfolk for life, on the same day that her grandson and heir apparent, Thomas de Mowbray, was created Duke of Norfolk. She married secondly, about 1354, Walter, Lord Manny. On her death the earldom devolved on her grandson and the duchy of Norfolk became extinct. She was buried in Grey Friars, London.

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Her first husband, JOHN, LORD SEGRAVE, third Baron, b. about 1315; d. Easter Tuesday 1353. He was descended from a distinguished family, his father being Stephen, Constable of the Tower, who died too early to inherit his father's title and John succeeded his grandfather, John, the second Baron, son of Nicolas de Segrave, first Baron, 1238-1295, who was in turn son of Gilbert de Segrave, the Judge, who died 1254. Lord Segrave was summoned to Parliament, 29 November 1336-15 November 1351. Like his predecessor, he was a well-known personage in the field during his comparatively short career of thirty-eight years. He took an active part in the wars of France and Scotland and was more than once retained to serve the King by indenture.

LADY ELIZABETH SEGRAVE, only daughter and heiress of John, Lord Segrave, and Margaret, Duchess of Norfolk, b. 1340; m. John, Lord Mowbray, about 1363; d. 1375. By her marriage she carried the Norfolk estates into a family in whose favor the Earl of Norfolk's title was soon revived.

Her husband, JOHN, LORD MOWBRAY, tenth Baron, and Crusader, b. 1326; d. 9 October 1368. He was descended through a long line of warriors from Roger de Mowbray, of the Isle of Axholme, County Lincoln, who was one of the chief Barons of the North. John's father, the ninth Baron, married Lady Joan Plantagenet, daughter of Henry, Earl of Lancaster and grandson of Henry III. The father died 4 October 1361 and the son succeeded to the title. The Segrave estates vested in him. He served in the French wars; was summoned to Parliament, 36-39 Edward III, and was slain near Constantinople by the Turks while on his way to the Holy Land, in one of the Crusades. His eldest son, John, eleventh Lord Segrave, died unmarried, 10 February 1383, under age, after being created first Earl of Nottingham, and was succeeded by his brother Thomas (the banished Duke).

THOMAS MOWBRAY, son of John,* twelfth Baron Mowbray and first Duke of Norfolk, was born about 1366. His "mother

* From *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxxix, first issue.

ENGLISH DESCENT

is said to have had him baptized Thomas, a name not previously affected by the family, to mark her special reverence for St. Thomas of Canterbury (Dugdale, *Baronage*, i. 12). The abbots of Fountains and Sawley were his sponsors. On the death without issue at the early age of nineteen, on 10 Feb. 1383, of his elder brother John (IV) de Mowbray, eleventh baron, Thomas succeeded as twelfth Baron Mowbray of Axholme. He inherited, in addition to the great Mowbray barony, in which were merged those of Braose (Brewes) and Segrave, the expectation of the still more splendid heritage of the old Bigods, earls of Norfolk, at present enjoyed by Margaret, his grandmother. Richard at once (12 Feb.) revived, in favour of his young cousin, the title of Earl of Nottingham, which his brother had borne (Doyle). Before October he was given the garter* vacant by the death of Sir John Burley (Beltz, *Memorials of the Order of the Garter*, p. 259). As Earl of Nottingham he was summoned to the parliament which met on 26 Oct. of that year (*Rep. on the Dignity of a Peer*, App. p. 705). Froissart substitutes the Earls of Northumberland and Nottingham for the Duke of Lancaster and the Earl of Buckingham as leaders of the Scottish expedition of March 1384 (cf. Monk of Evesham, p. 51; Walsingham, ii. 111). There is no doubt, however, that Nottingham was present in the expedition which Richard in person conducted against the Scots in the summer of the next year. On the eve of their departure (30 June) the king invested the earl for life with the office of earl marshal of England, which had been enjoyed by his great-grandfather, Thomas of Brotherton (Dugdale, i. 128). On the march through Yorkshire he confirmed, on 21 July, with many of the knights of the army as witnesses, his ancestor Roger's charter to Byland Abbey . . .

“Nottingham, who was barely twenty years of age, does not appear by name among the nobles who carried out the revolution at court against the king of October to December 1386

* The Order of the Garter was created by Edward III in 1349. There were twenty-five original Knights in addition to the Sovereign.

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(cf. *Continuatio Eulogii Historiarum*, iii. 361). Of nearly the same age as the king, he had been much in his company (Walsingham, ii. 156). But he had married in 1385 a sister of Arundel, who was, next to Gloucester, the chief author of the revolution, and shared with his brother-in-law the glory of his naval victory of 24 March 1387 over the French, Flemings, and Spaniards (Walsingham, ii. 153-6; *Chron. Angliae*, pp. 374-5). He did not, however, accompany Arundel in the further expedition which he undertook for the relief of Brest (Knighton, col. 2693). Richard received Nottingham very coldly when he presented himself to report his success, and his favourite, the Duke of Ireland, refused even to speak to the two earls. They therefore retired to their estates, 'where they could live more at their ease than with the king' (Walsingham, ii. 156). Nottingham was one of those whose destruction the king and the Duke of Ireland plotted after Easter (*ib.* p. 161; Monk of Evesham, p. 84). Yet he does not seem to have taken any open part in the armed demonstration in November by which Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick, with whom the Earl of Derby, eldest son of John of Gaunt . . . had now ranged himself, extorted from Richard a promise that his advisers should be brought to account before parliament. It was not until after the lords in revolt had fled from court, and the Duke of Ireland was approaching with an army raised in Cheshire to relieve the king from the constraint in which he was held, that Nottingham followed Derby's example, and appeared in arms with Derby and the other three lords at Huntingdon on 12 Dec. (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 376; Monk of Evesham, p. 137). Even now, if we may trust the story which Derby and Nottingham told ten years after, when they were assisting Richard in bringing their old associates to account for these proceedings, they showed themselves more moderate than their elders. They claimed to have secured the rejection of Arundel's plan to capture and depose the king (*ib.*). The five confederates marched instead into Oxfordshire, to intercept the Duke of Ireland before he could

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pass the Thames. They divided their forces for the purpose on 20 Dec., and Nottingham, like some of the others, seemingly did not come up in time to take part with Derby and Gloucester in the actual fighting at Radcot Bridge, near Burford, from which the Duke of Ireland only escaped by swimming (Monk of Evesham, p. 95; Walsingham, ii. 168; Knighton, col. 2703). The victors returned through Oxford, where the chronicler Adam of Usk (p. 5) saw their army pass, with Arundel and Nottingham bringing up the rear; after spending Christmas Day at St. Albans, they reached London on 26 Dec., and encamped in the fields at Clerkenwell. The London populace siding with the formidable host without, the mayor ordered the gates to be opened to the lords (Walsingham, ii. 171). They insisted on an interview with Richard in the Tower, and entered his presence with linked arms. The helpless young king consented to meet them next day at Westminster, and besought them to sup and stay the night with him, in token of goodwill. Gloucester refused, but Richard succeeded in keeping Derby and Nottingham to supper (Knighton, col. 2704; Derby only according to the Monk of Evesham, p. 100, and Walsingham, ii. 172). Next day (27 Dec.) they formally appealed his favourites of treason at Westminster, and Richard was forced to order their arrest (Knighton, col. 2705; Evesham, p. 100; Walsingham, ii. 172-3; *Foedera*, vii. 566-8). As one of the five appellants Nottingham joined in the subsequent proscription of the king's friends in the Merciless parliament which met on 3 Feb. 1388 (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 299 seq.; Knighton, cols. 2713-26). On 10 March he was joined as marshal with Gloucester the constable to hear a suit between Matthew Gournay and Louis de Sancerre, marshal of France (*Foedera*, vii. 570). In the early months of 1389 he is said to have been sent against the Scots, who were ravaging Northumberland; but, being entrusted with only five hundred lances, did not venture an encounter with the Scots, who numbered, if we may believe the chroniclers, thirty thousand (Walsingham, ii. 180; Monk of Evesham, p. 197).

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“When Richard shook off the tutelage of the appellants on 3 May, Nottingham was removed with the others from the privy council (Walsingham, ii. 182, and Monk of Evesham, p. 109, mention only Gloucester and Warwick). But once his own master, Richard showed particular anxiety to conciliate the earl-marshal. He gave him the overdue livery of his lands, and a week after his emancipation (11 May) placed him on the commission appointed to negotiate a truce with Scotland (*Ord. of Privy Council*, i. 27). His great possessions in the north naturally suggested his employment in the defence of the Scottish border, as his grandfather had been employed before him. On 1 June, therefore, he was constituted warden of the east marches, captain of Berwick, and constable of Roxburgh Castle for a term of two years (Dugdale, i. 128; Doyle). By the middle of September both he and Derby had been restored to their places at the council board, which a month later (15 Oct.) was the scene of a hot dispute between the king and his new chancellor, William of Wykeham, who resisted Richard’s proposal to grant a large pension to Nottingham (*Ord. of Privy Council*, i. 11, 12). Whatever may have been Richard’s real feelings towards Gloucester and Arundel at this time, it was obviously to his interest to attach the younger and less prominent appellants to himself. Nottingham alone was continuously employed in the service of the state, and entrusted with the most responsible commands. On 28 June 1390 he was associated with the treasurer, John Gilbert, bishop of St. David’s, and others to obtain redress from the Scots for recent infractions of the truce (*Foedera*, vii. 678; *Ord. of Privy Council*, i. 27; Lowth, *Life of Wykeham*, p. 228). In 1391 an exchange of posts was effected between Nottingham and the Earl of Northumberland, who returned to his old office of warden of the Scottish marches, while Mowbray took the captaincy of Calais (Dugdale, i. 128; Walsingham, ii. 203). In November of the next year, this office was renewed to him for six years, in conjunction with that of lieutenant of the king in Calais and the parts of Picardy,

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Flanders, and Artois for the same term (Dugdale, i. 128). On 12 Jan. 1394 Richard recognised Nottingham's just and hereditary right to bear for his crest a golden leopard gorged with a silver label (Gloucester's crest), but substituted a crown for the label, on the ground that the latter would appertain to the king's son, if he had any (*Foedera*, vii. 763; Beltz, p. 298; Doyle). In March 1394 Nottingham was appointed chief justice of North Wales, and two months later chief justice of Chester and Flint (*ib.*; Dugdale, i. 128).

"Nottingham accompanied Richard to Ireland in September 1394, and on his return was commissioned, with the Earl of Rutland, son of Edmund Langley, duke of York, and others, on 8 July, and again in October and December, to negotiate a long truce with France and a marriage for the king with Isabella, daughter of Charles VI of France (*Ann. Ricardi II*, p. 172; *Foedera*, vii. 802). He was present at the costly wedding festivities at Calais in October 1396 (*Ann. Ricardi II*, p. 190). Nottingham thus closely identified himself with the French connection, which by its baneful influence upon Richard's character and policy, and its unpopularity in the country, contributed more than anything else to hastening his misfortunes. In the parliament of January 1397 Richard gave Nottingham another signal proof of his favour by an express recognition of the earl-marshalship of England as hereditary in his house, and permission to bear a golden truncheon, enamelled in black at each end, and bearing the royal arms on the upper, and his own on the lower (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 344; Wallon, *Richard II*, i. 404-5). At the same time Nottingham secured a victory in a personal quarrel with one of Gloucester's associates, the Earl of Warwick. Warwick's father in 1352 had obtained legal recognition of his claim to the lordship of Gower, a part of the Mowbray inheritance. This judgment was now reversed in Nottingham's favour (Dugdale, pp. 236-7; *Ann. Ricardi II*, p. 201).

"Nottingham was out of England from the end of February till the latter part of June on a foreign mission: his colleagues

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were the Earl of Rutland and Bishop Thomas Merke . . . and as late as 16 June they were at Bacharach on the Rhine (*Foedera*, vii. 850, 858). But the earl returned in time to serve as one of the instruments of Richard's revenge upon Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick, his fellow-appellants of 1388. How far his conduct was justifiable is matter of opinion, but it was not unnatural. He was the last to join the appellants and probably the first to be reconciled to the king, and now for eight years he had been loaded by Richard with exceptional favours. He had long drifted apart from his old associates, and with one of them he was at open enmity. It must be confessed too that he was a considerable gainer by the destruction of his old friends. According to the king's story, Nottingham and seven other young courtiers, of whom all but one were related to the royal house, advised Richard to arrest Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick on 8 and 9 July. At Nottingham on 5 Aug. they agreed to appeal them of treason in the parliament which had been summoned to meet at Westminster on 21 Sept. (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 374; *Foedera*, viii. 7; *Ann. Ricardi II*, p. 206). Nottingham was present when Richard in person arrested Gloucester at his castle of Pleshy in Essex, and it was to his care as captain of Calais that the duke was consigned (*ib.* p. 201; Monk of Evesham, p. 130). He may have himself conducted his prisoner to Calais, though we have only Froissart's authority for this; but his presence at Nottingham on 5 Aug. proves that he did not mount guard personally over him throughout his imprisonment. He had for some time in fact been performing his duties at Calais by deputy (cf. *Rot. Parl.* iii. 377).

"On Friday, 21 Sept., Nottingham and his fellow-appellants 'in red silk robes, banded with white silk, and powdered with letters of gold,' renewed in parliament the appeal they had made at Nottingham (*ib.*; Adam of Usk, p. 12; Monk of Evesham, p. 136). Arundel was forthwith tried, condemned, and beheaded on Tower Hill. A strongly Lancastrian writer asserts that Nottingham, along with Arundel's nephew, the Earl of

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Kent, led his brother-in-law to execution, and makes Arundel taunt them with ingratitude and prophesy time's speedy revenge (*Ann. Ricardi II*, pp. 216-17). Froissart adds that the earl marshal bandaged Arundel's eyes and performed the execution himself.

"This seems to have been the popular belief as early as 1399 (Langland, *Richard the Redeles*, Early Engl. Text Soc., 1873, Pass. iii. 105-6); but the official record states that the execution was carried out by Lord Morley, the lieutenant of the earl marshal (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 377). Adam of Usk (p. 14) mentions the presence of Kent and others who coveted the condemned earl's lands. Nottingham was at once granted the castle and lordship of Lewes, of which he had been given the custody as early as 26 July, and all the forfeited lands of Arundel in Sussex and Surrey, except Reigate (Dugdale, i. 129). On the day of Arundel's death the king issued a writ, addressed to Nottingham as captain of Calais, or his deputy, to bring up the Duke of Gloucester before parliament to answer the charges of the appellants (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 377; *Foedera*, viii. 15). Parliament seems to have adjourned to Monday the 24th, when Nottingham's answer was read, curtly intimating that he could not produce the duke, as he had died in his custody at Calais (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 377; Adam of Usk, p. 15). Next day a confession, purporting to have been made by Gloucester to Sir William Rickhill, . . . justice of the common pleas, on 8 Sept., was read in parliament, and the dead man was found guilty of treason. The whole affair is involved in mystery, and there is a strong suspicion that Richard and Nottingham were responsible for Gloucester's death. . . . After the accession of Henry IV a certain John Hall, a servant of Nottingham, who was by that time dead, being arrested as an accomplice in the murder of Gloucester, deposed in writing to parliament that he had been called from his bed by Nottingham one night in September 1397, had been informed that the king had ordered Gloucester to be murdered, and had been enjoined to be present with other

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esquires and servants of Nottingham and of the Earl of Rutland. Hall at first refused, but Nottingham struck him on the head, and said he should obey or die. He then took an oath of secrecy with eight other esquires and yeomen, whose names he gave, in the church of Notre-Dame in the presence of his master. Nottingham took them to a hostel called Prince's Inn, and there left them. Gloucester was handed over to them by John Lovetot, who was also a witness to the duke's confession made to Rickhill, and he was suffocated under a feather bed. Hall was at once condemned, without being produced, and executed; and when Serle, one of the others mentioned, was captured in 1404 he met the same fate (Dugdale, ii. 171; *Ann. Henrici IV*, p. 390). This not altogether satisfactory evidence was adopted, with some additions of their own, by the Lancastrian chroniclers (*Ann. Ricardi II*, p. 221; *Ann. Henrici IV*, p. 309; Walsingham, ii. 226, 228, 242; Monk of Evesham, pp. 161-2; *Cont. Eulogii*, iii. 373). But Nottingham's guilt is not proved, though the balance of evidence is against him.

"Nottingham's services, whatever their extent, were rewarded on 28 Sept. by a grant of the greater part of the Arundel estates in Sussex and Surrey, and of seventeen of the Earl of Warwick's manors in the midlands (Dugdale, i. 129). The commons representing to the king that Derby and Nottingham had been 'innocent of malice' in their appeal of 1388, Richard vouched for their loyalty (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 355). On 29 Sept. Nottingham was created Duke of Norfolk, and his grandmother, Margaret, countess of Norfolk, was at the same time created Duchess of Norfolk, for life (*ib.* iii. 355, iv. 273; Monk of Evesham, p. 141; Adam of Usk, p. 17). The statement of one authority that Richard at the same time gave him the earldom of Arundel must doubtless be referred to the grant of the estates of that earldom (*Cont. Eulogii*, iii. 377).

"But new wealth and honours did not render Norfolk's position inviolable. The king was vindictive by nature, and had not forgotten that Norfolk was once his enemy; he afterwards

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declared that the duke had not pursued the appeal of his old friends with such zeal as those who had never turned their coats (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 383). At the same time the inner circle of the king's confidants—the Earl of Kent, now Duke of Surrey, Sir William le Scrope, now Earl of Wiltshire, and the Earl of Salisbury—were (Norfolk had reason to suspect) urging the king to rid himself of all who had ever been his enemies. Norfolk is said to have confided his fears to Hereford as they rode from Brentford to London in December 1397 (*ib.* p. 382). Richard was informed of Norfolk's language; obtained from Hereford, who probably was jealous of Norfolk's dignities and power, a written account of the interview with Norfolk, and summoned both parties to appear before the adjourned parliament, which was to meet at Shrewsbury on 30 Jan. 1398 (*ib.*; *Cont. Eulogii*, iii. 370). Hereford seems to have accompanied the king on his way to Shrewsbury, for on 25 Jan. Richard at Lilleshall gave him a full pardon for all treasons or other offences of which he might have been guilty in the past (*Foedera*, viii. 32). Norfolk did not appear to answer the charges which Hereford, on Wednesday, 30 Jan., presented against him, and on 4 Feb. the king ordered the sheriffs to proclaim that he must appear within fifteen days (*ib.*). The story, one of several common to Adam of Usk and the French authorities, that Norfolk had laid an ambush for Hereford on his way to Shrewsbury, and which has passed into Holinshed and Shakespeare, if it is not entirely baseless, must be referred to some earlier occasion (Adam of Usk, pp. 22, 129; *Chronique de la Trahison*; Shakespeare, *Richard II*, act i. sc. i.; cf. Monk of Evesham, p. 57). Meanwhile it had been settled, on 31 Jan., that the matter should be left to the king, with the advice of the committee appointed by parliament to deal with unfinished business (*Rot. Parl.* ii. 382). At Oswestry, on 23 Feb., Norfolk was present, and gave a full denial to the charges, and it was settled and confirmed by the king in council at Bristol that unless sufficient proofs of his guilt were discovered in the meantime the matter should be referred to a

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court of chivalry at Windsor, to be held on Sunday, 28 April (*ib.*; *Foedera*, viii. 35-6; cf. Adam of Usk, p. 23). The court met at Windsor on the date fixed, and next day decided that the matter should be settled by trial of battle at Coventry on 16 Sept. (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 382). The lists were prepared in a place surrounded by a ditch, outside Coventry, and on the appointed day the combatants duly appeared (Adam of Usk, p. 23). They were both magnificently arrayed, Norfolk, we are told, having secured his armour from Germany, and Hereford's being a present from Gian Galeazzo of Milan (*Archaeologia*, xx. 102; Adam of Usk, p. 23). But Hereford was much the more splendid, having seven horses diversely equipped (*ib.*). Before they had joined issue, however, the king took the battle into his own hands, on the ground that treason was in question, and that it was undesirable that the blood royal should be dishonoured by the defeat of either (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 383). Richard then decided that inasmuch as Norfolk had confessed at Windsor to some of the charges which he had repelled at Oswestry, and was thus self-convicted of conduct which was likely to have roused great trouble in the kingdom, he should quit the realm before the octaves of St. Edward, to take up his residence in Germany, Bohemia, and Hungary and 'pass the great sea in pilgrimage.' He was to go nowhere else in Christendom on pain of incurring the penalties of treason. Hereford was banished to France, and communication between them was expressly forbidden (*ib.* iii. 382). The same veto was laid upon all intercourse with Archbishop Arundel. Norfolk's share of the lands of Arundel and Warwick and all his offices were declared forfeited, because he had resisted the abrogation of the acts of the Merciless parliament, and failed in his duty as an appellant (*ib.*). The rest of his estates were to be taken into the king's hands, and the revenues, after paying him 1,000 *l.* a year, were devoted to covering the heavy losses in which it was alleged his maladministration of his governorship of Calais had involved the king (*ib.*; Monk of Evesham, p. 146). Next day his office of marshal of

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England was granted for the term of his (Norfolk's) life to the king's nephew, Thomas Holland, duke of Surrey (*Foedera*, viii. 44). The captaincy of Calais had already been given by Richard to his half-brother, John Holland, duke of Exeter. Adam of Usk (p. 23) has a story that Richard stopped the battle because he thought Norfolk was likely to be beaten by Hereford, on whose destruction he was bent, and that the king banished Norfolk only as a matter of form, intending to recall him. Mr. Maunde Thompson seems inclined to accept this theory (Adam of Usk, p. 131); but it looks rather far-fetched. A Lancastrian writer adds that Norfolk was condemned on the very day on which, a year before, he had had Gloucester suffocated (*Ann. Ricardi II*, p. 226).

"On 3 Oct. the king ordered his admirals to allow free passage to Norfolk from any port between Scarborough and Orwell; licensed the duke to take with him a suite of forty persons, 1,000 *l.* in money, with jewels, plate, and harness, and issued a general request to all princes and nations to allow him safe-conduct (*Foedera*, viii. 47-8, see also p. 51). A few days later (Saturday, 19 Oct.) Norfolk took ship at the port of Kekeleyrode, a little south of Lowestoft, for Dordrecht, in the presence of the officials of Lowestoft and some of the county gentry, who testified to the fact, and added that by sunset he was six leagues and more from that port, and was favoured with 'bon vent et swef' (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 384). He perhaps now recalled the words, if they were really spoken, in which Archbishop Arundel had warned him the year before, in the presence of the king, that he and others would speedily follow him into exile (Monk of Evesham, p. 203).

"Of the subsequent wanderings of the 'banished Norfolk' we know no more than that he reached Venice, where on 18 Feb. 1399 the senate, at the request of King Richard, granted him (disguised in their minutes as duke of 'Gilforth') the loan of a galley for his intended visit to the Holy Sepulchre (*Cal. of State Papers*, Venetian, i. 38; *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, ii.

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243). He induced some private Venetians to advance him money for the expenses of his journey, on the express understanding, inserted in his will, that their claims should rank before all others (Ellis, *Original Letters*, 3rd ser. i. 46, 50; *Cal. of State Papers*, Venetian, i. 47). After his death the Doge Steno pressed Henry IV to compel Norfolk's heirs to satisfy these claims (*ib.*). On the death of Norfolk's grandmother, the old duchess, Richard revoked on 18 March 1399 the letters patent by which he had empowered him to receive inheritances by attorney, and thus kept him from enjoying the revenues of the old Bigod estates (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 372). It cannot be regarded as certain that he ever made his journey to Palestine, for he died at Venice on 22 Sept. of the same year, 1399 (*Ord. of Privy Council*, i. 99). The register of Newburgh Priory says, however, that it was after his return from the Holy Land, and that he died of the plague. He was buried in Venice, and though his son John left instructions in his will that his ashes should be brought to England, nothing seems to have been done until his descendant, Thomas Howard, third duke of Norfolk, preferred a request for them to the Venetian authorities in December 1532 through the Venetian ambassador in London (*Cal. of State Papers*, Venetian, Pref. lxxxiii). Rawdon Brown identified as a part of his tomb a stone with an elaborate heraldic achievement, which was pictured, by one ignorant of the English character of its heraldry, in Casimiro Freschot's 'Li Pregi della Nobiltà Veneta abbozzati in un Giuco d'Arme,' 1682. The stone itself Brown discovered after long search in 1839; it was 'conveyed' from its place of concealment in the pavement of the terrace of the ducal palace, and was presented to Mr. Henry Howard of Corby Castle, near Carlisle, where it still remains (*ib.*; *Atlantic Monthly*, lxiii. 742). This 'Mowbray stone,' which is figured and described in 'Archaeologia' (xxix. 387) and in Baines's 'Lancashire,' ed. Croston (i. 69), contains the royal banner of England and the badges of Richard II, Mowbray, and Bolingbroke in an association, which Rawdon

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Brown held to be emblematic of Mowbray triumphing over Bolingbroke with the assistance of Richard. Mr. Wylie, on the other hand, holds that this is a strained interpretation, and is inclined to associate it with Bolingbroke's visit to Venice in 1392-3 (*Hist. of England under Henry IV*, ii. 29).

"Norfolk left lands in most counties of England and Wales, whose mere enumeration, says Mr. Wylie (ii. 29), fills eleven closely printed folio pages in the 'Inquisitiones post Mortem' (cf. Dugdale, i. 130). Mowbray was twice married. His first wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Roger le Strange of Blackmere, died almost immediately, and in 1385 he took for his second wife Elizabeth Fitzalan, daughter of Richard, earl of Arundel [and relict of William Montacute (styled Lord Montacute)], who bore him two sons: Thomas [beheaded in his minority], and John [the second Duke], who successively inherited his estates; . . . and two daughters: Isabel, who married Sir James Berkley, and Margaret, who became wife of Sir Robert Howard, created Duke of Norfolk after the extinction of the male line of the Mowbrays (*ib.*; Doyle, *Official Baronage*). His widow, who was allowed a large dowry in the eastern and midland counties, afterwards married Sir Gerard de Usflete and Sir Robert Goushill successively [having married four times], and survived until 8 July 1425 (Dugdale, *Baronage*, i. 130; Nichols, *Royal Wills*, p. 144).

"It is not possible to pronounce a final verdict upon Mowbray's character while we have to suspend our judgment as to the part he had played in the mysterious death of the Duke of Gloucester. But at best he was no better than the rest of the little knot of selfish, ambitious nobles, mostly of the blood royal, into which the older baronage had now shrunk, and whose quarrels already preluded their extinction at each other's hands in the Wars of the Roses. Mowbray had some claim to be considered a benefactor of the church; for besides confirming his ancestors' grants to various monasteries (*Monast. Angl.* vi. 374), he founded and handsomely endowed in 1396 a Cistercian priory at Epworth in Axholme, dedicated to St. Mary, St. John

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the Evangelist, and St. Edward the Confessor, and called *Domus Visitationis Beatae Mariae Virginis* (*ib.* vi. 25-6; Stonehouse, *Isle of Axholme*, p. 135). To the chapel of Our Lady in this Priory-in-the-Wood, as it is sometimes designated (now Melwood Priory), Pope Boniface IX, by a bull dated 1 June 1397, granted the privileges which St. Francis had first procured for the Church of S. Maria de Angelis at Assisi (*Monast. Angl.* vi. 26).

"In Weever's poem, 'The Mirror of Martyrs,' Sir John Oldcastle is said to have been a page of Mowbray, a tradition which Shakespeare transferred to Falstaff."

The Howards

MARGARET MOWBRAY, daughter of Thomas Mowbray, b. 1366; m. Sir Robert Howard; d. 1399. She was a descendant of the illustrious family of Mowbray, which traced its pedigree back to Roger de Mowbray, whose name is found on Brompton's "Listes des Conquerants d'Angleterre," the Roll of Battle Abbey, and other archives, as one of the leaders of the Norman army which achieved the conquest of England.

Her husband, SIR ROBERT HOWARD, d. 1436, was descended from a long line of country gentlemen and knights. He was the eldest son of Sir John Howard and his second wife, Alice, daughter and heir of Sir William Tendring. It was Sir Robert's brilliant marriage which brought wealth and honors to the Howard family. He was made Duke of Norfolk after the extinction of the male line of de Mowbrays, and became ancestor of the Dukes of Norfolk (Howard line).

This is a fitting place to refer briefly to the two lines of Dukes of Norfolk, and also to the earlier Earls of Norfolk, in order to avoid confusion. The earlier Dukes of Norfolk were of the de Mowbray family. There were four of them: one Thomas and three Johns. They existed between 1366 and 1475. The Howard line of Dukes of Norfolk extended from 1430 to the

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execution of the fourth Duke in 1572, when his elder son, owing to the attainder on the title, became nineteenth Earl of Arundel, and his son Thomas, by the second marriage, became Earl of Suffolk. The old Earls of Norfolk, the de Bigods, were of a much older period, 1176–1306. It is to the Howard line of Dukes that we now turn our attention. They possessed great wealth and power, and filled important pages in the history of England. A few extracts from authorities are here quoted to give an idea of the splendor with which they were surrounded, and later we shall see how they added to the lustre of their records, or how they failed to resist the temptations of great wealth. The following is an extract from “The Rise of Great Families,” by Sir Bernard Burke:

“Just four centuries of ducal rank, and just eight centuries of unsullied ancestry are associated with the name of Howard. In the combination of antiquity of descent and the possession of the highest peerage honours with the most brilliant public service and the most illustrious alliances, the family of the Duke of Norfolk is unrivalled. Next to the blood royal, Norfolk is not only at the head of the titled ranks of this empire, but also, I maintain, at the head of European nobility. In historical pre-eminence no dukedom in Europe stands so exalted as this. . . . After a series of generations of great country gentlemen, the Howards were raised from knightly degree and provincial celebrity to the most elevated rank in the Kingdom. They sprang, *per saltum*, from simple chivalry to ducal position. The cause of this was the splendid alliance formed in the early part of the fifteenth century, by Sir Robert Howard with the Lady Margaret de Mowbray, daughter of Thomas de Mowbray, the first Duke of Norfolk, and cousin and co-heiress of John de Mowbray, the fourth Duke. This it was which brought eventually to the Howards, the inheritance of royal blood, vast possessions and magnificent heirships. The Lady Margaret’s mother was sister and co-heiress of Thomas Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, and her father was, through his mother, great-grandson of Thomas Plantagenet, Earl of Norfolk, eldest son of King Edward I by Margaret of France, his second queen.

“No less than nineteen Howards have been Knights of the Garter—no other family can boast as many—and full twenty distinct peerages have, at various times, been conferred on this illustrious house. No one was more capable of forming an opinion on the relative position of the nobles of England than the late Sir Harris Nicolas, and he thus speaks of the Howards:

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“In point of mere antiquity there are several nobles which far exceed the Howards; but what other family pervades all our national annals with such frequent mention, and often involved in circumstances of such intense and brilliant interest? As heroes, poets, politicians, courtiers, patrons of literature, state victims to tyranny and revenge and feudal chiefs, they have constantly been before us for four centuries.’

“For a period their history was as tragic as it was glorious. The first Duke of Norfolk, true to his king, fell at Bosworth. The second Duke won Flodden, but, nevertheless, his son Thomas, the third duke, was attainted and would have been beheaded; but that the King’s death (Henry VIII) the day before Norfolk’s was intended, arrested the axe in its course; his two hapless nieces, Queen Anne Boleyn and Queen Catherine Howard, had already passed to the scaffold. The third duke’s son, the brightest jewel in the coronet of Howard, was Henry, Earl of Surrey, K.G., the statesman, warrior and poet.

*‘The gentle Surrey loved his lyre;
Who has not heard of Surrey’s fame?
His was the hero’s soul of fire,
And his the Bard’s immortal name.’*

“Surrey’s cruel and iniquitous execution was the last act of the tyranny of Henry VIII. His son, the fourth Duke of Norfolk, met a like doom as his father, and was beheaded in the time of Elizabeth, on an accusation of having conspired with Mary Queen of Scots.

“An entry in the Journal of Mr. E. Browne, ‘Sloane MSS.’ (Brit. Mus.), gives a striking description of the celebration at Norwich of the birthday of Henry Howard, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, a description obviously the same from which Macaulay derived the materials for the following graphic account of the gorgeous state kept up by the Norfolk family two hundred years ago:

“In the heart of the city [Norwich] stood an old palace of the Dukes of Norfolk, said to be the largest town house in the Kingdom out of London. In this mansion, to which were annexed a tennis court, a bowling green, and a wilderness stretching along the banks of the Wensum, the noble family of Howard frequently resided, and kept a state resembling that of petty sovereignty. Drink was served to guests in goblets of pure gold. The very tongs and shovels were of silver. Pictures by Italian masters adorned the walls. The cabinets were filled with a fine collection of gems, purchased by that Earl of Arundel, whose marbles are now among the ornaments of Oxford. Here in the year 1671 Charles and his Court were sumptuously entertained. Here too, all comers were annually welcomed, from Christmas to Twelfth Night. Ale flowed in oceans for the populace. Three coaches, one of which had been built at a cost of £500 to contain 14 persons, were sent every afternoon round the city to bring ladies to the festivities; and the dances were always followed by a luxurious banquet. When the Duke of Norfolk came to

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Norwich, he was greeted like a king returning to his Capital. The bells of the Cathedral and of St. Peter Mowcroft were rung; the guns of the Castle were fired; and the Mayor and Aldermen waited on their illustrious fellow-citizen with complimentary addresses.' ”

In quoting the above, and in other passages in these memoirs, I have simply attempted to give an impartial view of historical facts; but I do not wish any descendant of mine to think that I approve of luxury or show. Personally I should not care to spend money in any such manner, and I have been careful all through life to make no display of coats of arms, believing it to be inharmonious with American ideals.

JOHN HOWARD,* (slain at Bosworth 22 August 1485), “first Duke of Norfolk of the Howard family (1430?–1485), son and heir of Sir Robert Howard, by Margaret, daughter of Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk (*d.* 1399), and cousin and ultimately co-heiress of John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk (*d.* 1475), is supposed to have been born about 1430. His first recorded service is dated 1452, when he followed Lord L’Isle to Guienne, and was present at the battle of Chastillon on 17 July, 1453. He entered the service of his kinsman, John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk (*d.* 1461), and on 8 July 1455 the duchess wrote to John Paston . . . desiring him that, as it was ‘right necessarie that my lord have at this tyme in the parliament suche persons as longe unto him and be of his menyall servaunts,’ he would forward the election of Howard as knight of the shire for Norfolk. The Duke of York also wrote on his behalf. Some at least of the Norfolk gentry were indignant at having ‘a straunge man’ forced on them, and the duke was reported to have promised that there should be a free election, which made Howard ‘as wode as a bullock,’ but in the end he was elected (*Paston Letters*, i. 337, 340, 341; *Return of Members*, i. 351). It is evident that he was of service to the Yorkist cause, for on the accession of Edward IV in 1461 he was knighted (Doyle), was appointed constable of Colchester Castle, sheriff of Norfolk and

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Suffolk, and one of the king's carvers, and was known to have 'great fellowship' with the king. He took an active part in the Duke of Norfolk's quarrel with John Paston; he had a violent brawl with Paston in the shire-house at Norwich in August, and used his influence with the king against him, while Howard's wife declared that if any of her husband's men met with Paston he should 'go no penny for his life' (*Paston Letters*, ii. 42, 53, 54). As Sheriff Howard had given offence at the election of Paston and Berney, and in consequence of the many complaints preferred against him was, in November, it is said, committed to prison (*ib.* p. 62). His favour with the king was not diminished, for in 1462 he was appointed constable of Norwich Castle, and received grants of several manors forfeited by the Earl of Wiltshire and others. He was joined in a commission with Lords Fauconberg and Clinton to keep the seas; and they made a descent on Brittany, and took Croquet and the Isle of Rhé. Towards the end of the year he served under Norfolk against the Lancastrians in the north, and was sent by the duke from Newcastle to help the Earl of Warwick at Warkworth, and in the spring of 1464 was with Norfolk in Wales when the duke was securing the country for the king.

"Howard returned home on 8 June (1464), and bought the reversion of the constableness of Bamborough Castle, worth ten marks a year, for 20*l.* and a bay courser (*Accounts*). During the last weeks of the year he was with the king at Reading, and presented him with a courser worth 40*l.* and the queen with another worth 8*l.* as New-year's gifts. On 3 Nov. 1465 he lost his wife Catharine, daughter of William, lord Moleyns, who died at his house at Stoke Nayland, Suffolk (*Paston Letters*, iii. 486; in 1452 according to Dugdale, Nicolas, and Doyle). In 1466 he was appointed vice-admiral for Norfolk and Suffolk, was building a ship called the Mary Grace, and being charged with the conveyance of envoys to France and the Duke of Burgundy remained at Calais from 15 May to 17 Sept. In the following January he married his second wife, Margaret, daughter of Sir John

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Chedworth, and in April was elected knight of the shire for Suffolk, spending 40*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.* in feasting the electors at Ipswich (*Accounts; Return of Members*, i. 358). Although a member of the commons, he is styled Lord Howard (dominus de Haward) in a commission issued in November appointing him an envoy to France (*Foedera*, xi. 591). He was in this year made treasurer of the household, and held that office until 1474. He was employed in June 1468 (in 1467 Nicolas) in attending the king's sister Elizabeth to Flanders on her marriage with Charles, duke of Burgundy (*Bramante*, xi. 125).

“When Henry VI was restored he created Howard a baron by a writ of summons dated 15 Oct. 1470, and styling him Baron de Howard. Nevertheless, he appears to have remained faithful to the Yorkist cause, for not only was he commanding a fleet sent to oppose the Lancastrians, but on Edward's landing in March 1471 proclaimed him king in Suffolk. A list of his retainers is extant for that year (*Accounts*), and it may therefore be concluded that he was present at the battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury. In June he was appointed deputy-governor of Calais, and after having sworn to maintain the succession of the Prince of Wales, crossed over thither on 3 June, and was engaged in negotiations with France, and in the May following with the Duke of Burgundy. When Edward invaded France in July 1475 he was accompanied by Howard, who appears to have been one of the king's most trusted councillors during the expedition; he was one of the commissioners who made the truce at Amiens, received a pension from Louis XI, and met Philip de Commines to arrange the conference between the two kings at Picquigny (*Commines*, pp. 97, 99, 103, 109). He remained in France as a hostage for a short time after Edward's departure, and on his return to England received from the king as a reward for his fidelity and prudence grants of several manors in Suffolk and Cambridgeshire forfeited by the Earl of Oxford. On being sent to treat with France in July 1477 for a prolongation of the truce, he and his fellow envoys negotiated with the

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envoys of Louis at Cambray, and in the following March and in January 1479 he was again employed in the same way. In that year also he was sent to Scotland in command of a fleet. . . . In May 1480 he and other envoys were sent to remind Louis of his engagement that his son Charles should marry Edward's daughter Elizabeth, but their mission was fruitless. At the funeral of Edward in April 1483, Howard, who is styled the king's bannerer, bore the late king's banner (*Archaeologia*, i. 351). He attached himself to Richard of Gloucester, and became privy to all his plans and doings. He was appointed high steward of the duchy of Lancaster on 13 May, and a privy councillor, and on 28 June was created Duke of Norfolk and earl marshal with remainder to the heirs male of his body, the patent thus reviving the dignities held by the Mowbrays and Thomas of Brotherton, son of Edward I, from whom he was descended on the mother's side through females. He was concerned in persuading the widowed queen to deliver up her younger son the Duke of York, that he might be lodged with his brother in the Tower. At the coronation of Richard III on 6 July he acted as high steward, bore the crown, and as marshal rode into Westminster Hall after the ceremony, and 'voyded the hall' (Hall, p. 376); a few days later he was appointed admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitaine. On 10 Oct. he heard that the Kentish men had risen and were threatening to sack London, and ordered Paston to come to the defence of the city. He probably accompanied Richard on his visit to the north, for he was with him at Nottingham on 12 Sept. 1484 when he was nominated chief of the commissioners to treat with the ambassadors of James III of Scotland (*Letters and Papers*, pp. 64-7). A story that he was solicited in February 1485 by the Lady Elizabeth to promote her marriage with the king is doubtful (Buck ap. Kennett, *Complete History*, p. 568, comp. Gairdner, *Richard III*, pp. 257, 258). When in August it was known that the Earl of Richmond had landed, Norfolk summoned his retainers to meet him at Bury St. Edmunds to fight for the king. The night before he marched

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to join Richard, several of his friends tried to persuade him to remain inactive, and one wrote on his gate

*Jack of Norffolke be not to bolde,
For Dykon thy maister is bought and solde;*

but for the sake of his oath and his honour he would not desert the king (Hall, p. 419). At Bosworth he commanded the vanguard, which was largely composed of archers, and he was slain in the battle on 22 Aug. He was buried in the conventual church of Thetford. He was attainted by act of the first parliament of Henry VII.

“Norfolk was a wise and experienced politician, and an expert and valiant soldier, careful in the management of his own affairs, and a faithful adherent of the house of York; but his memory is stained by his desertion of the interests of the son of his old master and by his intimate relations with the usurper. By his first wife, Catharine, he had Thomas, earl of Surrey and second duke of Norfolk, . . . and four daughters: Anne, married to Sir Edward Gorges of Wraxall, Somerset; Isabel, married to Sir Robert Mortimer of Essex; Jane, married to John Timperley; and Margaret, married to Sir John Wyndham of Crownthorpe and Felbrigg, Norfolk, ancestor of the Wyndhams, earls of Egremont. His second wife, who bore him one daughter, Catharine, married to John Bouchier, second lord Berners, . . . survived him, married John Norreys, and died in 1494. Norfolk’s autograph as ‘J. Howard’ is subscribed to a letter of his in Cotton MS. Vesp. F. xiii. 79, and as duke is given in Doyle’s ‘Official Baronage.’ A painting of Norfolk at Arundel has been engraved by Audinet, and the engraving is given in Cartwright’s ‘Rape of Bramber,’ and a portrait in coloured glass in the possession of the Duke of Norfolk is also given in colours by Cartwright. Nicolas speaks of two portraits of Norfolk and his first wife Catharine, in the possession of the Earl of Carlisle, which have been engraved.”

THOMAS HOWARD* (Chief General of England. Planned and

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won "Flodden Field" in his seventieth year), "Earl of Surrey and second Duke of Norfolk of the Howard house (1443-1524), warrior and statesman, was only son of Sir John Howard, afterwards first duke of Norfolk . . . by his wife Catharine, daughter of William, lord Moleyns. He was born in 1443, was educated at the school at Thetford, and began a long career of service at court as henchman to Edward IV. He took part in the war which broke out in 1469 between the king and the Earl of Warwick, and when, in 1470, Edward was driven to flee to Holland, Howard took sanctuary at Colchester. On Edward's return in 1471, Howard joined him and fought by his side in the battle of Barnet. On 30 April 1472 he married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir Frederick Tilney, and widow of Humphrey, lord Berners. Soon afterwards he went as a volunteer to the camp of Charles, duke of Burgundy, who was threatening war against Louis XI of France. He did not see much service, and after the truce of Senlis came back to England, where he was made esquire of the body to Edward IV in 1473. In June 1475 he led six men-at-arms and two hundred archers to join the king's army in France; but Edward soon made peace with Louis XI, and led his forces home without a battle. Howard then took up his abode at his wife's house of Ashwellthorpe Hall, Norfolk, where he lived the life of a country gentleman, and in 1476 was made sheriff of the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. On 18 Jan. 1478 he was knighted by Edward IV at the marriage between the king's second son, the young Duke of York (then created also Duke of Norfolk), and Lady Anne Mowbray, only child of John, duke of Norfolk. Anne Mowbray died in 1483, before the consummation of her marriage, and the direct line of the Mowbrays became extinct, whereupon Howard's father, as next of kin, was created Duke of Norfolk, and his son Earl of Surrey. In the same year Surrey was made knight of the Garter, was sworn of the privy council, and was appointed lord steward of the household.

"Surrey had now taken his place as a courtier and an official,

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and henceforth was distinguished by loyalty to the actual wearer of the crown, whoever he might be. He acquiesced in Richard III's usurpation, and carried the sword of state at his coronation (*Excerpta Historica*, p. 380). He and his father fought for Richard at Bosworth Field, where his father was killed and he was taken prisoner. He was attainted by the first parliament of Henry VII, and his estates were forfeited. He was also committed to the Tower, where he remained for three years and a half, receiving the liberal allowance of 2*l.* a week for his board (Campbell, *Materials for a History of Henry VII*, i. 208). Misfortune did not shake his principle of loyalty to the powers that be, and he refused to seek release by favouring rebellion. When, in June 1487, the Earl of Lincoln invaded England, and the lieutenant of the Tower offered to open the doors to Surrey, he refused the chance of escape. Henry VII soon saw that Surrey could be converted into an official, and would serve as a conspicuous example to other nobles. In January 1489 he was released, and was restored to his earldom, though the calculating king kept the greater part of his forfeited lands, and gave back only those which he held in right of his wife, and those which had been granted to the Earl of Oxford (*ib.* ii. 420). In May he was sent to put down a rising in Yorkshire, caused by the pressure of taxation. The Earl of Northumberland had been slain by the insurgents, whom Surrey quickly subdued and hanged their leader in York. The care of the borders was now entrusted to Surrey, who was made lieutenant-general of the north, was placed on the commission of peace for Northumberland, and was appointed subwarden of the east and middle marches, which were under the nominal charge of Arthur, prince of Wales (*ib.* ii. 480). In the spring of 1492 he showed his vigilance by putting down a rising at Acworth, near Pomfret, so promptly that nothing is known of it save an obscure mention (*Plumpton Correspondence*, pp. 95-7).

“Surrey was now reckoned the chief general in England, and though summoned southwards when Henry VII threatened an expedition against France, was chiefly employed in watching the

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Scottish border against the Scottish king and Perkin Warbeck. In 1497 James IV laid siege to Norham Castle, but retreated before the rapid advance of Surrey, who retaliated by a raid into Scotland, where he challenged the Scottish king to battle; but James did not venture an engagement, and bad weather forced Surrey to retire (Hall, *Chronicle*, p. 480). Surrey's services received tardy recognition from Henry VII; in June 1501 he was sworn of the privy council, and was made lord treasurer. His knowledge of Scotland was used for diplomatic purposes, and in the same year he was sent to arrange the terms of peace with that country on the basis of the marriage of Henry VII's daughter Margaret to James IV. In 1503 he was at the head of the escort which conducted the princess from her grandmother's house of Colliweston, Northampton, to Edinburgh, where he was received with honour (Leland, *Collectanea*, iv. 266, &c.). After this he stood high in the king's confidence, was named one of the executors of his will, and was present on all great occasions at the court. In October 1508 he was sent to Antwerp to negotiate for the marriage of Henry's daughter Mary with Charles, prince of Castile (Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, i. 444). It was not, however, till after twenty years of hard service that Henry VII, shortly before his death, made a restoration of his forfeited manors.

"On the accession of Henry VIII, Surrey's age, position, and experience marked him out as the chief adviser of the new king and the most influential member of the privy council. In March 1509 he was one of the commissioners to conclude a treaty with France (Bergenroth, *Spanish Calendar*, i. No. 36). In July 1510 he was made earl marshal, and in November 1511 was a commissioner to conclude a treaty with Ferdinand the Catholic (*ib.* No. 59). But Surrey felt that, though he was valued by the young king, he did not become his trusted adviser, and he looked with jealous eyes on the rapid rise of Wolsey. He suspected Wolsey of encouraging the king in extravagance, and fostering his ambition for distinction in foreign affairs contrary

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to the cautious policy of his father. He consequently gave way to outbursts of ill-temper, and in September 1512, 'being discountenanced by the king, he left the court. Wolsey thinks it would be a good thing if he were ousted from his lodging there altogether' (Brewer, *Calendar*, i. No. 3443). But Henry VIII was wise enough to see the advantage of maintaining a balance in his council, and he knew the worth of a man like Surrey. When, in 1513, he led his army into France, Surrey was left as lieutenant-general of the north. He had to meet the attack of James IV of Scotland, which was so decisively repelled on Flodden Field (9 Sept. 1513), a victory due to the energy of Surrey in raising troops and in organizing his army, as well as to the strategical skill which he showed in his dispositions for the battle (Hall, *Chronicle*, p. 556, &c.). This is the more remarkable when we remember that he was then in his seventieth year. As a recognition of this signal service Surrey, on 1 Feb. 1514, was created Duke of Norfolk, with an annuity of 40 *l.* out of the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, and further had a grant of an addition to his coat of arms—on a bend in his shield a demi-lion, gules, pierced in the mouth with an arrow.

"Though Norfolk had gained distinction he did not gain influence over the king, whose policy was completely directed by Wolsey on lines contrary to the wishes of the old nobility. Norfolk was opposed to the marriage of the king's sister Mary with Louis XII of France, and vainly tried to prevent it. To console him for his failure he was chosen to conduct Mary to her husband, and waited till he was in France to wreak his ill-humour by dismissing Mary's English attendants (Brewer, *Reign of Henry VIII*, i. 40). This act only threw Mary more completely on Wolsey's side, and so increased his influence. Norfolk must have felt the hopelessness of further opposition when, on 15 Nov. 1515, he and the Duke of Suffolk conducted Wolsey, after his reception of the cardinal's hat, from the high altar to the door of Westminster Abbey. He gradually resigned himself to Wolsey's policy, and the Venetian envoy Giustinian reports that he was

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‘very intimate with the cardinal’ (Rawdon Brown, *Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII*, App. ii). In February 1516 the Duchess of Norfolk was godmother to the Princess Mary, and in the same year Norfolk was a commissioner for forming a league with the emperor and Spain in defence of the church. In May 1517 he showed his old vigour in putting down a riot of the London apprentices against foreigners, which, from the summary punishment it received, was known as ‘Evil May day.’ When the king went to the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520, Norfolk was left guardian of the kingdom. But a painful task was in store for him: in May 1521 he was appointed lord high steward for the trial of Edward, duke of Buckingham, on the charge of treason. Buckingham was his friend, and father of the wife of his eldest son; and few incidents are more characteristic of the temper of the time than that Norfolk should have consented to preside at such a trial, of which the issue was a foregone conclusion. With tears streaming down his face Norfolk passed sentence of death on a man with whose sentiments he entirely agreed, but had his reward in a grant of manors from Buckingham’s forfeitures (Brewer, *Calendar*, iii. No. 2382). In spite of his great age Norfolk still continued at court, and was present at the reception of Charles V in May 1522. In December, however, he resigned the office of treasurer, but was present at parliament in April 1523. After that he retired to his castle of Framlingham, where he died on 21 May 1524, and was buried at Thetford Priory, of which he was patron (Martin, *History of Thetford*, p. 122). A tomb was raised over him, which at the dissolution of the monasteries was removed to the church of Framlingham. It is said that his body finally remained in the Howard Chapel at Lambeth, where his second wife was also buried (see ‘The Howards of Effingham,’ by G. Leveson Gower, in *Surrey Arch. Coll.* ix. 397).

“The career of Howard is an excellent example of the process by which the Tudor kings converted the old nobility into dignified officials, and reduced them into entire dependence on the crown. Howard accepted the position, worked hard, aban-

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doned all scruples, and gathered every possible reward. Polydore Vergil praises him as ‘vir prudentia, gravitate et constantia praeditus.’ By his first wife, Elizabeth Tilney [daughter of Sir Frederick Tilney], he had eight sons, . . . of whom five died young, and three daughters; by his second wife, Agnes, daughter of Sir Philip Tilney, he had three sons, including William Howard, first lord Howard of Effingham, . . . and four daughters. By the marriage of this numerous offspring the Howard family was connected with most of the chief families of England, and secured a lasting position.”

THOMAS HOWARD* (married a daughter of Edward IV, condemned to be beheaded by Henry VIII), “Earl of Surrey and third Duke of Norfolk of the Howard house (1473–1554), warrior and statesman, was eldest son of Thomas Howard I . . . by his wife Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir Frederick Tilney of Ashwellthorpe Hall, Norfolk. He was born in 1473, and, as a sign of the close alliance between Richard III and the Howard family, was betrothed in 1484 to the Lady Anne (born at Westminster 2 Nov. 1475), third daughter of Edward IV (Buck, *History of Richard III*, p. 574). The lady had been betrothed by her father by treaty dated 5 Aug. 1480 to Philip, son of Maximilian, archduke of Austria, but Edward IV’s death had brought the scheme to nothing. After the overthrow of Richard, despite the change in the fortunes of the Howards, Lord Thomas renewed his claim to the hand of the Lady Anne, who was in constant attendance on her sister, Queen Elizabeth, and Henry VII permitted the marriage to take place in 1495 (the marriage settlement is given by Madox, *Formulare Anglicanum*, pp. 109–10). The queen settled upon the bride an annuity of 120*l*. (confirmed by acts of parliament 11 and 12 Hen. VII), and the marriage took place in Westminster Abbey on 4 Feb. 1495. Howard subsequently served in the north under his father, by whom he was knighted in 1498. In 1511 he joined his younger brother, Edward, . . . the lord admiral, as captain of a ship in

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his encounter with the Scottish pirate, Andrew Barton. . . . In May 1512 he was made lieutenant-general of the army which was sent to Spain under the command of the Marquis of Dorset, with the intention of joining the forces of Ferdinand for the invasion of Guienne. The troops, ill supplied with food, grew weary of waiting for Ferdinand and insisted upon returning home, in spite of Howard's efforts to persuade them to remain (Brewer, *Calendar*, i. No. 3451). Henry VII invaded France next year. Sir Edward Howard fell in a naval engagement in March, and on 2 May 1513 Lord Thomas was appointed lord admiral in his stead. He was not, however, called upon to serve at sea, but fought under his father as captain of the vanguard at the battle of Flodden Field (September 1513) where he sent a message to the Scottish king that he had come to give him satisfaction for the death of Andrew Barton.

"When his father was created Duke of Norfolk on 1 Feb. 1514, Lord Thomas Howard was created Earl of Surrey. In politics he joined with his father in opposing Wolsey, and was consoled, like his father, for the failure of his opposition to the French alliance by being sent in September 1514 to escort the Princess Mary to France. But Surrey did not see the wisdom of abandoning his opposition to Wolsey so soon as his father. There were stormy scenes sometimes in the council chamber, and on 31 May 1516 we are told that Surrey 'was put out, whatever that may mean' (Lodge, *Illustrations*, i. 21). His wife Anne died of consumption probably in the winter of 1512-13, and about Easter 1513 he married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, by Lady Elinor Percy, daughter of the Earl of Northumberland. The girl, who was little more than fifteen, had already been betrothed to her father's ward, Richard Neville, afterwards fourth earl of Westmoreland. The alliance with such families as those of Buckingham and Northumberland strengthened in Surrey the natural objection which he felt to Wolsey's power, and to the policy of depressing the old nobility, but the execution of Buckingham in 1521 taught

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him a lesson of prudence. When the trial of Buckingham took place, Surrey was in Ireland as lord-lieutenant, and it was said that he had been sent thither of set purpose that he might be out of the way when the nobles received that severe caution. In July 1520 Surrey entered upon the thankless task of endeavouring to keep Ireland in order. His letters contain accounts of attempts to pacify the rival factions of Kildare and Ormonde, and are full of demands for more money and troops.

“At the end of 1521 Surrey was recalled from Ireland to take command of the English fleet in naval operations against France. His ships were ill-provisioned, and his warfare consisted in a series of raids upon the French coast for the purpose of inflicting all the damage possible. In July 1522 he burned Morlaix, in September laid waste the country round Boulogne, and spread devastation on every side, till the winter brought back the fleet to England. When, in December 1522, his father resigned the office of high treasurer, it was bestowed on Surrey, whose services next year were required on the Scottish border. The Duke of Albany, acting in the interests of France, was raising a party in Scotland, and threatened to cripple England in its military undertakings abroad. Surrey was made warden general of the marches, and was sent to teach Scotland a lesson. He carried out the same brutal policy of devastation as he had used in France, and reduced the Scottish border to a desert. But he did not venture to march on Edinburgh, and Albany found means to reach Scotland from France and gather an army, with which he laid siege to Wark Castle on 1 Nov.; but, when he heard that Surrey was advancing to its relief, he ignominiously retreated. This was felt to be a great victory for Surrey, and Skelton represented the popular opinion in his poem, ‘How the Duke of Albany, like a cowardly knight, ran away.’

“On 21 May 1524 Surrey, by his father’s death, succeeded as Duke of Norfolk, but was still employed in watching Scotland and in negotiating with the queen regent, Margaret. In 1525 he was allowed to return to his house at Kenninghall, Norfolk,

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where, however, his services were soon needed to quell an insurrection which broke out at Lavenham and Sudbury against the loan which was necessitated by the expenses of the French war (Hall, *Chronicle*, p. 700). Norfolk's tact in dealing with the insurgents was successful, but the demand for money was withdrawn. Want of supplies meant that peace was necessary, and in August Norfolk was appointed commissioner to treat for peace with France. When the war was over, the great question which occupied English politics was that of the king's divorce. Norfolk was entirely on the king's side, and waited with growing satisfaction for the course of events to bring about Wolsey's fall. He and the Duke of Suffolk did all they could to increase the king's anger against Wolsey, and enjoyed their triumph when they were commissioned to demand from him the great seal. Norfolk was Wolsey's implacable enemy, and would be content with nothing short of his entire ruin. He presided over the privy council, and hoped to rise to the eminence from which Wolsey had fallen. He devised the plan of sending Wolsey to his diocese of York, and did not rest till he had gathered evidence which raised the king's suspicions and led to Wolsey's summons to London and his death on the journey.

"Norfolk hoped to fill Wolsey's place, but he was entirely destitute of Wolsey's genius. He could only become the king's tool in his dishonourable purposes. In 1529 he signed the letter to the pope which threatened him with the loss of his supremacy in England if he refused the king's divorce. He acquiesced in all the subsequent proceedings, and waxed fat on the spoils of the monasteries. He was chief adviser of his niece, Anne Boleyn, but followed the fashion of the time in presiding at her trial and arranging for her execution. But, after all his subservience, Thomas Cromwell proved a more useful man than himself. A fruitless embassy to France in 1533, for the purpose of winning Francis I to side with Henry, showed that Norfolk was entirely destitute of Wolsey's diplomatic skill. But there were some points of domestic policy for which he was necessary. He was

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created earl marshal in 1533, and presided over the trial of Lord Dacre, who, strange to say, was acquitted. In the suppression of the Pilgrimage of Grace, Norfolk alternately cajoled and threatened the insurgents till their forces melted away, and he could with safety undertake the work of official butchery. He held the office of lord president of the council of the north from April 1537 till October 1538, when he could boast that the rebellion had been avenged by a course of merciless punishment.

“On his return to court Norfolk headed the opposition against Cromwell. He allied himself with Gardiner and the prelates of the old learning in endeavouring to prevent an alliance with German protestantism. In the parliament of 1539 he laid before the lords the bill of the six articles, which became law. ‘It was merry in England,’ he said, ‘before the new learning came up’ (Froude, *Hist.* ch. xix.), and henceforth he declared himself the head of the reactionary party. In February 1540 he again went to Paris as ambassador, to try if he could succeed on this new basis in detaching Francis I from Charles V and gaining him as an ally to Henry VIII (*State Papers Hen. VIII*, viii. 245-340). Again he failed in his diplomacy, but after his return he had the satisfaction on 10 June of arresting Cromwell in the council chamber. The execution of his rival threw once again the chief power into Norfolk’s hands, and a second time he made good his position by arranging for the marriage of a niece with the king. But the disgrace of Catherine Howard was more rapid than that of Anne Boleyn, and Norfolk again fell back into the position of a military commander. In 1542 he was sent to wage war against Scotland, and again wreaked Henry VIII’s vengeance by a barbarous raid upon the borders. It was the terror of his name and not his actual presence, which ended the war by the disastrous rout of Solway Moss. When Henry went to war with France in 1544, Norfolk in spite of his age was appointed lieutenant-general of the army. The army besieged Montreuil, and, after a long siege, captured Boulogne, but Norfolk could claim no glory from the war. Again he found himself superseded

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in the royal favour by a powerful rival, the Earl of Hertford, whom he failed to conciliate by a family alliance which was proposed for his acceptance. Under the influence of his last queen (Catherine Parr) and the Earl of Hertford, Henry VIII favoured the reforming party, and Norfolk's counsels were little heeded. As the king's health was rapidly failing, it became Hertford's object to remove his rivals out of the way, and in 1546 Norfolk's son, Henry, earl of Surrey, . . . was accused of high treason.

“ The charge against the son was made to include the father, and Norfolk's enemies were those of his own household. His private life was discreditable, and shows the debasing effect of the king's example on those around him. Norfolk quarrelled with his wife, who, although of a jealous and vindictive temper, was one of the most accomplished women of the time. She patronised the poet Skelton, who wrote, while her guest at Sheriff Hutton, Yorkshire, ‘ A Goodly Garlande or Chapelet of Laurell.’ But with her husband she was always on bad terms, and accused him of cruelty at the time of her daughter Mary's birth in 1519. The duke soon afterwards took a mistress, Elizabeth Holland, ‘ a churl's daughter, who was but a washer in my nursery eight years,’ as his wife complained to Cromwell (Nott, *Works of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey*, App. xxvii-xxxii). In 1533 he separated from his wife, who withdrew to Redborne, Hertfordshire, with a very scanty allowance. Appeals of husband and wife to Cromwell and the king failed to secure a reconciliation, and the duchess refused to sue for a divorce. The discord spread among the other members of the family, and they were all at variance. Evidence against Norfolk was given, not only by his wife, but by his daughter, the Duchess of Richmond, and even by Elizabeth Holland, who only wished to save herself and her ill-gotten gains. But the evidence was not sufficient for his condemnation, and Norfolk, a prisoner in the Tower, was persuaded to plead guilty and throw himself on the king's mercy. He signed his confession on 12 Jan. 1547 (Herbert, *Reign of*

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Henry VIII, s. a.), and his enemies, who were eager to share the proceeds of his forfeiture, introduced a bill for his attainder into parliament. The bill, of course, passed at once, and the dying king appointed a commission to give it the royal assent. This was done on 27 Jan., and orders were given for Norfolk's execution on the following morning. But in the night the king died, and the lords of the council did not think it wise to begin their rule by an act of useless bloodshed. Norfolk, indeed, had cut the ground from under their feet by sending a petition to the king begging that his estates should be settled on the young Prince Edward, and the king had graciously accepted the suggestion (Nott, App. xxxix).

“Norfolk remained a prisoner in the Tower during Edward VI's reign, but was released on Mary's accession. He petitioned parliament for the reversal of his attainder on the ground that Henry VIII had not signed the commission to give the bill his assent (*ib.* App. l). His petition was granted, and he was restored Duke of Norfolk on 3 Aug. 1553. He was further sworn of the privy council and made a knight of the Garter. His services were required for business in which he had ample experience, and on 17 Aug. he presided as lord high steward at the trial of the Duke of Northumberland, and had the satisfaction of sentencing a former opponent to death. In January 1554 the old man was lieutenant-general of the queen's army to put down Wyatt's rebellion. In this he displayed an excess of rashness. He marched with far inferior forces against Wyatt, whose headquarters were at Rochester, and in a parley was deserted by a band of five hundred Londoners, who were in his ranks. His forces were thrown into confusion and fled, leaving their guns behind. Wyatt was thus encouraged to continue his march upon London. Norfolk retired to his house at Kenninghall, Norfolk, where he died on 25 Aug. 1554. He was buried in the church of Framlingham, where a monument, which still exists, was erected over his grave—an altar tomb with effigies of Norfolk and his second wife. . . . Norfolk is described by the Venetian

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ambassador, Falieri, in 1531 as 'small and spare of stature and his hair black. He is prudent, liberal, affable, and astute; associates with everybody, has great experience in the administration of the kingdom, discusses affairs admirably, aspires to greater elevation' (*Venetian Calendar*, iv. 294-5). This was written when Norfolk, after Wolsey's death, seemed, as the chief of the English nobles, to be the destined successor of Wolsey; but it soon appeared that the Tudor policy was not of a kind which could be best carried out by nobles. Norfolk was influential more through his position than through his abilities, and did not scruple at personal intrigue to secure his power. Still, subservient as he might show himself, he was not so useful as men like Cromwell, and his hopes of holding the chief place were constantly disappointed. He was hot-tempered, self-seeking, and brutal, and his career shows the deterioration of English life under Henry VIII.

"Norfolk's four children by his first wife died young; by his second wife, who died 30 Nov. 1558 and was buried in the Howard Chapel, Lambeth, he had two sons (Henry, earl of Surrey, . . . and Thomas, 1528?–1583, who was educated by Leland, and was created Viscount Howard of Bindon 13 Jan. 1558–9) and one daughter, Mary, . . . who married Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond, . . . natural son of Henry VIII. There is a portrait of Norfolk, by Holbein, at Norfolk House, another at Windsor, and another at Castle Howard. The first of these has been engraved in Lodge's 'Portraits' and in Cartwright and Dallaway's 'History of Sussex.' There are other engravings by Vorsterman and Scriven."*

SIR HENRY HOWARD (poet; beheaded by Henry VIII), Earl of Surrey, is known in history as a poet and a distinguished man of letters. He was born about 1517, and was beheaded on 12 December 1547. He was the eldest son of the third Duke of Norfolk. He was carefully educated, and indulged in versification early in life. When he was twelve years old the Queen, Anne Boleyn, urged Henry VIII to marry him to the Princess

* *Dict. N. Belg.* vol. xxviii.

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Mary, but later her views were changed and he was married in April 1531-2 to Frances, daughter of John Vere. At Anne Boleyn's trial, 15 May 1536, Surrey acted as Earl Marshal in behalf of his father who presided by virtue of his office as Lord Treasurer. In 1540, he distinguished himself at the jousts held at Westminster. In 1541, he was made knight of the Garter, and three years later was appointed Marshal of the army which was despatched to France, and at Montreuil was wounded and his life saved only by the exertions of a friend. In 1545, he was sent to Calais with five thousand men, and in the engagements which followed, he was reprimanded by Henry for recklessly exposing himself, and in a subsequent engagement which was unsuccessful, he was relieved of his command. In December 1546, the subject of choosing a regent during Prince Edward's minority was discussed, Henry VIII being near his end. There was rivalry between Surrey's father and Hertford which led to many troubles. Enemies to the house of Howard trumped up charges against the father and son, and they were sent to the Tower on 12 December 1546. Henry VIII, knowing that his end was near and fearing that his victim might escape his wrath, hurried the prosecution and they were both convicted of high treason. Surrey was beheaded on 21 January 1547. He was generally considered the most brilliant of the Howard line. He was remarkable for his soldierly qualities and for his learning. His "Songes and Sonettes" were not printed until after his death. They became popular, and in later times were much praised. Sir Philip Sydney, with whom Surrey's career has something in common, wrote that many of Surrey's lyrics "taste of a noble birth and are worthy of a noble mind." Surrey was the first to imitate Italian poetry in English verse, and had the high distinction of introducing blank verse in five iambics into English poetry. The following appreciation of Surrey's literary work is taken from Surrey Arch. Cole in an article on West Horseley by H. E. Malden: "It is difficult to overestimate the services of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, to English poetry. Wyatt may have been

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his superior in depth of thought, but the man who introduced the sonnet into English, and who naturalised Blank Verse, did a great work. No doubt critics can always argue that some one else would have done it, if he had not. The imitation of Italian methods was in the air. So Marlowe, if he had not been killed too soon, would have written great tragedies had no Shakespeare lived. But the man who did the thing must always deserve the praise he gets. To have been in any sense the inspiration of Surrey's verses is a claim to distinction in the history of literature."

Sir Thomas Warton, in his "History of English Poetry," refers to Surrey's work as follows:

"It is indeed delightful to contemplate the character of Lord Surrey. Excellent in arts and in arms; a man of learning, a genius and a hero; of a generous temper and a refined heart, he united all the gallantry and unbroken spirit of a rude age with all the elegance and graces of a polished era. With a splendour of descent; in possession of the highest honours and abundant wealth, he relaxed not his efforts to deserve distinction by his personal worth. While conspicuous in the rough exercises of tilts and tournaments, and commanding armies with skill and bravery in expeditions against the Scots under his father, he found time, at a period when our literature was rude and barbarous, to cultivate his mind with all the exquisite spirit of the models of Greece and Rome; to catch the excellencies of the muses of Italy, and to reproduce in his own language compositions, which in simplicity, perspicuity, graceful arrangement and just and natural thoughts, exhibited a shining contrast with the works of his predecessors, and an example which his successors have attempted in vain to imitate. His 'Songes and Sonettes' were collected by Richard Tottell in 1557.

"Treason was brought against the Earl for quartering the arms of Edward the Confessor with those of Howard, sanctioned by the heralds. The Earl was arraigned, and although he defended himself with eloquence was beheaded on Tower Hill 21 Jan. 1557."

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Dr. Nott describes eleven portraits of Surrey. One by Holbein is at Windsor.

THOMAS HOWARD (engaged to Mary, Queen of Scots, and executed by Elizabeth), fourth Duke of Norfolk, was the eldest son of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey. He was born 10 March 1536. After the execution of his father, in 1547, he was removed from his mother by order of the Privy Council and his education committed to his aunt, the Duchess of Richmond. On 3 August 1553 he was made Earl of Surrey. At the death of his grandfather, the third Earl, when he was eighteen years of age, he became Duke of Norfolk and Earl Marshal. "Norfolk was too young to take any part in affairs during Mary's reign. . . . On Elizabeth's accession it was a matter of importance to attach definitely to her side a man of Norfolk's position. In April 1559 he was made knight of the Garter. Elizabeth styled him 'her cousin' on the ground of relationship between the Howards and the Boleyns, and chose him to take a leading part in the first great undertaking of her reign, the expulsion of the French troops from Scotland."

In early life Howard was married to Mary, eventually heiress of the house of Arundel, and by this alliance the family were enabled, notwithstanding the reverses of fortune, to retain a considerable portion of their ancient splendor. The Duchess died under seventeen in giving birth to Philip, nineteenth Earl of Arundel. The Duke married secondly, in 1557, Margaret, daughter and heir of Thomas, Lord Audley, of Walton, and widow of Lord Henry Dudley. By this marriage they had issue, Thomas, Earl of Suffolk, who succeeded to the Barony of Walden in right of his mother. The Duke made a third marriage with no issue. This lady was Elizabeth, widow of Lord Dacre. She died in 1567. Then followed his attempt to marry Mary, Queen of Scots, who fled to England in 1568. As this was against the will of Elizabeth, it led to his execution, at the age of thirty-five, for high treason. The following extract is taken from Hume's "History of England," under date of 1569:

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“The Duke of Norfolk was the only peer that enjoyed the highest title of nobility; and as there were, at present, no princes of the blood, the splendour of his family, the opulence of his fortune, and the extent of his influence, had rendered him without comparison, the first subject in England. The qualities of his mind corresponded to his high station; beneficent, affable, generous, he had acquired the affections of the people; prudent, moderate, obsequious, he possessed, without giving her any jealousy, the good graces of his sovereign. His grandfather and father had long been regarded as the leaders of the catholics; and this hereditary attachment, joined to the alliance of blood, had procured him the friendship of the most considerable men of that party: but as he had been educated among the reformers, was sincerely devoted to their principles and maintained that strict decorum and regularity of life, by which the protestants were at that time distinguished; he thereby enjoyed the rare felicity of being popular, even with the most opposite factions. The height of his prosperity, alone, was the source of his misfortunes, and engaged him in attempts, from which his virtue and prudence would naturally have forever kept him at a distance.

“Norfolk was at this time a widower; and being of a suitable age, his marriage with the queen of Scots had appeared so natural, that it had occurred to several of his friends and those of that princess; but the first person who, after Secretary Lidington, opened the scheme to the Duke, is said to have been the Earl of Murray, before his departure for Scotland. That nobleman set before Norfolk both the advantage of composing the dissensions in Scotland, by an alliance, which would be so generally acceptable, and the prospect of reaping the succession of England; and in order to bind Norfolk’s interest the faster with Mary’s, he proposed that the duke’s daughter should also espouse the young king of Scotland. The previously obtaining of Elizabeth’s consent was regarded both by Murray and Norfolk, as a circumstance essential to the success of their project; and all terms being adjusted between them, Murray took care, by means of Sir Robert Melvil, to have the design communicated to the queen of Scots. This princess replied, that the vexations which she had met with in her two last marriages had made her more inclined to lead a single life; but she was determined to sacrifice her own inclinations to the public welfare: and, therefore, as soon as she should be legally divorced from Bothwel, she would be determined by the opinion of her nobility and people, in the choice of another husband.

“It is probable that Murray was not sincere in this proposal. He had two motives to engage him to dissimulation. He knew the danger which he must run in his return through the north of England, from the power of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, Mary’s partisans in that country; and he dreaded an insurrection in Scotland, from the duke of Chatelrault and the Earls of Argyle and Huntley, whom she had appointed her lieutenants during her absence. By these feigned appearances

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of friendship, he both engaged Norfolk to write in his favour to the northern noblemen; and he persuaded the queen of Scots to give her lieutenants permission, and even advice to conclude a cessation of hostilities with the regent's party.

"The Duke of Norfolk, though he had agreed that Elizabeth's consent should be previously obtained, before the completion of his marriage, had reason to apprehend that he never should prevail with her voluntarily to make that concession. He knew her perpetual and unrelenting jealousy against her heir and rival; he was acquainted with her former reluctance to all proposals of marriage with the queen of Scots; he foresaw that this princess's espousing a person of his power, and character, and interest, would give the greatest umbrage; and, as it would then become necessary to reinstate her in possession of her throne, on some tolerable terms, and even to endeavour the reëstablishing of her character, he dreaded lest Elizabeth, whose politics had now taken a different turn, would never agree to such indulgent and generous conditions. He, therefore, attempted, previously, to gain the consent and approbation of the most considerable nobility; and he was successful with the earls of Pembroke, Arundel, Derby, Bedford, Shrewsbury, Southampton, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Sussex. Lord Lumley, and Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, who cordially embraced the proposal: even the Earl of Leicester, Elizabeth's declared favourite, who had formerly entertained some views of espousing Mary, willingly resigned all pretensions, and seemed to enter zealously into Norfolk's interests. There were other motives besides affection to the duke which produced the general combination of the nobility.

"Sir William Cecil, secretary of state, was the most vigilant, active and prudent minister, ever known in England; and as he was governed by no views, but the interests of his sovereign, which he had inflexibly pursued, his authority over her became every day more predominant. Ever cool himself, and uninfluenced by prejudice and affection, he checked those sallies of passion and sometimes of caprice, to which she was subject; and, if he failed of persuading her in the first movement, his perseverance, and remonstrances and arguments were sure, at last, to recommend themselves to her sound discernment. The more credit he gained with his mistress, the more was he exposed to the envy of her other counsellors; and as he had been supposed to adopt the interests of the house of Suffolk, whose claim seemed to carry with it no danger to the present establishment, his enemies, in opposition to him, were naturally led to attach themselves to the queen of Scots. Elizabeth saw, without uneasiness, this emulation among her courtiers, which served to augment her own authority: and though she supported Cecil whenever matters came to extremities, and dissipated every conspiracy against him, particularly one laid, about this time, for having him thrown into the Tower, on some pretence or other, she never gave him such unlim-

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ited confidence as might enable him entirely to crush his adversaries.

“Norfolk, sensible of the difficulty which he must meet with in controlling Cecil’s counsels, especially when they concurred with the inclination, as well as interest of the queen, durst not open to her his intentions of marrying the queen of Scots; but proceeded still in the same course of increasing his interest in the Kingdom, and engaging more of the nobility to take part in his measures. A letter was written to Mary by Leicester, and signed by several of the first rank, recommending Norfolk for her husband, and stipulating conditions for the advantage of both kingdoms; particularly that she should give sufficient surety to Elizabeth and the heirs of her body, for the free enjoyment of the crown of England; that a perpetual league, offensive and defensive, should be made between their realms and subjects; that the protestant religion should be established by law in Scotland; and that she should grant an amnesty to her rebels in that kingdom. When Mary returned a favourable answer to this application, Norfolk employed himself, with new ardour, in the execution of his project; and besides securing the interests of many of the considerable gentry and nobility who resided at court, he wrote letters to such as lived at their country seats, and possessed the greatest authority in the several counties. The kings of France and Spain, who interested themselves extremely in Mary’s cause, were secretly consulted, and expressed their approbation of these measures. And, though Elizabeth’s consent was always supposed as a previous condition to the finishing of this alliance, it was apparently Norfolk’s intention, when he proceeded such lengths, without consulting her, to render his party so strong, that it should no longer be in her power to refuse it.

“It was impossible that so extensive a conspiracy could entirely escape the queen’s vigilance and that of Cecil. She dropped several intimations to the duke, by which he might learn that she was acquainted with his design; and she frequently warned him to beware on what pillow he reposed his head: but he never had the prudence or the courage to open to her his full intentions. Certain intelligence of this dangerous combination was given her, first by Leicester, then by Murray, who, if ever he was sincere in promoting Norfolk’s marriage, which is much to be doubted, had at least intended, for his own safety, and that of his party, that Elizabeth should, in reality, as well as in appearance, be entire arbiter of the conditions, and should not have her consent extorted by any confederacy of her own subjects. This information gave great alarm to the court of England; and the more so, as those intrigues were attended with other circumstances, of which, it is probable, Elizabeth was not wholly ignorant.

“Among the nobility and gentry that seemed to enter into Norfolk’s views, there were many who were zealously attached to the catholic religion, who had no other design than that of restoring Mary to her liberty, and who would gladly, by a combination with foreign powers, or even

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at the expense of a civil war, have placed her on the throne of England. The earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, who possessed great powers in the north, were leaders of this party; and the former nobleman made offer to the queen of Scots, by Leonard Dacres, brother to Lord Dacres, that he would free her from confinement, and convey her to Scotland, or any other place to which she should think proper to retire. Sir Thomas and Sir Edward Stanley, sons of the earl of Derby, Sir Thomas Gerard Rolstone, and other gentlemen, whose interest lay in the neighbourhood of the place where Mary resided, concurred in the same views; and required that, in order to facilitate the execution of the scheme, a diversion should, in the meantime, be made from the side of Flanders. Norfolk discouraged, and even, in appearance, suppressed these conspiracies, both because his duty to Elizabeth would not allow him to think of effecting his purpose by rebellion, and because he foresaw that, if the queen of Scots came into the possession of those men, they would rather choose for her husband, the king of Spain, or some foreign prince, who had power, as well as inclination, to re-establish the catholic religion.

“When men of honour and good principles, like the duke of Norfolk, engage in dangerous enterprises, they are commonly so unfortunate as to be criminal by halves; and while they balance between the execution of their designs and their remorse, their fear of punishment and their hope of pardon, they render themselves an easy prey to their enemies. The duke, in order to repress the surmises spread against him, spoke contemptuously to Elizabeth of the Scottish alliance; affirmed that his estate, in England, was more valuable than the revenue of a kingdom, wasted by civil wars and factions; and declared, that when he amused himself in his own tennis court at Norwich, amidst his friends and vassals, he deemed himself at least a petty prince, and was fully satisfied with his condition. Finding that he did not convince her by these asseverations, and that he was looked on with a jealous eye by the ministers, he retired to his country seat, without taking leave. He soon after repented of this measure, and set out on his return to court, with a view of using every expedient to regain the queen’s good graces; but he was met at St. Albans by Fitz-Garret, lieutenant of the band of pensioners, by whom he was conveyed to Burnham, three miles from Windsor, where the court then resided. He was soon after committed to the Tower, under the custody of Sir Henry Nevil. Lesley, Bishop of Ross, the queen of Scots’ ambassador, was examined, and confronted with Norfolk before the council. The earl of Pembroke was confined to his own house. Arundel, Lumley and Throgmorton, were taken into custody. The queen of Scots herself was removed to Coventry; all access to her was, during some time, more strictly prohibited; and viscount Hereford was joined to the earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon in the office of guarding her. . . . After several insurrections, in which the duke of

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Norfolk took no part while a prisoner, the queen finally released him and allowed him to live with some show of confinement in his own house; and only exacted from him a promise not to proceed any further in his negotiations with the queen of Scots . . . but finding that he had lost, and, as he feared, beyond recovery, the confidence and favour of Elizabeth, and being still, in some degree, restrained from his liberty, he was tempted by impatience and despair to violate his word and to open anew his correspondence with the captive princess. A promise of marriage was renewed between them; the duke engaged to enter into all her interests; and, as his remorse gradually diminished in the course of these transactions, he was pushed to give his consent to enterprises still more criminal. . . . Though he had laid the plan both of an invasion and an insurrection, he still flattered himself that the innocence of his intentions would justify the violence of his measures; and that, as he aimed at nothing but the liberty of the queen of Scots and the obtaining of Elizabeth's consent to his marriage, he could not justly reproach himself as a rebel and a traitor. It is certain, however, that, considering the queen's vigour and spirit, the scheme, if successful, must finally have ended in dethroning her; and her authority was here exposed to the utmost danger.

"The conspiracy, hitherto, had entirely escaped the vigilance of Elizabeth and that of secretary Cecil, who now bore the title of lord Burleigh. It was from another attempt of Norfolk's that they first obtained a hint, which, being diligently traced, led, at last, to a full discovery. Mary had intended to send a sum of money to lord Harreis, and her partisans in Scotland; and Norfolk undertook to have it delivered to Bannister, a servant of his, at that time in the north, who was to find some expedient for conveying it to lord Harreis. He entrusted the money to a servant who was not in the secret, and told him that the bag contained a sum of money in silver, which he was to deliver to Bannister, with a letter: but the servant conjecturing from the weight and size of the bag, that it was full of gold, carried the letter to Burleigh, who immediately ordered Bannister, Barker and Hicford, the duke's secretary, to be put under arrest, and to undergo a severe examination. Torture made them confess the whole truth; and as Hicford, though ordered to burn all papers, had carefully kept them concealed under the mats of the duke's chamber, and under the tiles of the house, full evidence now appeared against his master. Norfolk himself, who was entirely ignorant of the discoveries made by his servants, was brought before the council; and, though exhorted to atone for his guilt by a full confession, he persisted in denying every crime with which he was charged.

"The queen always declared, that, if he had given her this proof of his sincere repentance, she would have pardoned all his former offences; but, finding him obstinate, she committed him to the Tower, and ordered him to be brought to his trial. . . . A jury of twenty-five peers unanimously passed sentence upon him. . . . The queen still hesitated con-

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cerning Norfolk's execution, whether that she was really moved by friendship and compassion towards a peer of that rank and merit, or that, affecting the praise of clemency, she only put on the appearance of these sentiments. Twice she signed a warrant for his execution and twice revoked the fatal sentence. . . .

"[The trial of Norfolk took place on 12 January 1572, but it was not until 8 May following that he was executed.] He died with calmness and constancy; and though he cleared himself of any disloyal intentions against the queen's authority, he acknowledged the justice of the sentence by which he suffered."

THOMAS HOWARD (the Admiral), first Earl of Suffolk, b. 24 August 1561; d. 28 May 1626; was the second son of Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk; educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, and restored in blood as Lord Thomas Howard, 19 December 1584, his father having been attainted; knighted at sea for valor in the attack on the Spanish Armada, 25 June 1588, and afterwards made Captain of a man-of-war. On 5 March 1591 he was appointed Commander of the squadron which attacked, in the face of overwhelming difficulties, the Spanish treasure ships off the Azores. In May 1596 he was Admiral of the third squadron of the fleet sent against Cadiz. On his return, he was created knight of the Garter. His ability and courage in all his naval commands gained him the favor of the Queen (Elizabeth). On 5 December 1597 he was summoned to Parliament as Baron Howard de Walden, and became Admiral of a fleet, 10 August 1599. He filled many important offices and sumptuously entertained the Queen at the Charterhouse. On the accession of James I, Howard met him at Theobalds and was made a privy councillor and acted until 1614 as Lord Chamberlain of the Household. On 21 July 1603 he was created Earl of Suffolk. In 1604 he honorably refused a Spanish pension, though his wife accepted one. He discovered the Guy Fawkes gunpowder plot* by examining the vaults. The num-

*The Guy Fawkes gunpowder plot, one of the most memorable events of history, deserves more than a passing mention, especially as the Earl of Suffolk discovered the plot of the papists to blow up the parliament through a letter to one of the members warning him to absent himself. About eighty persons were concerned in the plot, and some of them were of ancient families. Among them were some of the Percys, related to Howard by marriage. Thirty-six barrels of gunpowder were stored in the vault.

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ber of offices which he held would fill a small volume. On 8 July 1614 he was elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge.

On 11 July 1614 he was made Lord High Treasurer of England, which led to his undoing. In the autumn of 1618 grave irregularities were discovered and Howard was accused of embezzlement. The Countess, his wife, in particular, was implicated in disgraceful transactions. She was his second wife—Catherine, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Henry Knevet, Kn't., of Charlton, Wiltshire, and widow of Richard, eldest son of Robert, Lord Rich. Her beauty was remarkable. She had a great ascendancy over her husband and, undoubtedly, used his high office to enrich herself. Bacon, in his speech in the Star Chamber against the Earl, compared the Countess to an exchange woman, who kept her shop while her creature, Sir J. Bingley, cried, "What d'ye lack?" Pennant in his "Journey from Chester to London," ed. 1782, pp. 227-8, has given an engraved portrait of the Countess from a painting at Gorhambury. They had seven sons and three daughters. The Earl and Countess were tried, convicted and heavily fined. In 1620, however, he was received into favor again. One of his sons married the well-known Lady Howard of Fitzford, who afterwards married thrice, her fourth husband being Sir Richard Grenvil. Her portrait by Van Dyck was engraved by Hollar. (See Dictionary of N. Biography.)

Collins says, vol. iii, p. 152: "The Earl was in the general opinion of the world, deemed guiltless of any considerable misdemeanor," "and in truth Audley End, that famous and great structure had its foundation in Spanish gold."

THEOPHILUS HOWARD* (Councillor for the Colony of Virginia), second Earl of Suffolk (1584-1640), "baptised on 13 Aug. 1584, was the eldest son of Thomas, first earl of Suffolk (1561-1626), . . . by his second wife, Catherine, widow of Richard, eldest son of Robert, lord Rich, and daughter and co-heiress of Sir Henry Knevet, kn't., of Charlton, Wiltshire (Doyle, *Official Baronage*, iii. 449-50). As Lord Howard of

* *Dict. N. Biog.* vol. xxviii.

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Walden he was created M.A. of Oxford on 30 Aug. 1605 (Wood, *Fasti Oxon.* ed. Bliss, ii. 314), and from 4 Nov. 1605 to 8 Feb. 1610 he sat as M.P. for Maldon, Essex (*Lists of Members of Parliament, Official Return*, pt. i. p. 443). On the latter date he was summoned to the upper house as Baron Howard de Walden. He became joint steward of several royal manors in South Wales on 30 June 1606, lieutenant of the band of gentlemen pensioners in July of the same year, councillor for the colony of Virginia on 23 May 1609, and governor of Jersey and Castle Cornet on 26 March 1610. In the latter year he served as a volunteer with the English forces at the siege of Juliers, and there engaged in a notable quarrel with Edward, lord Herbert of Cherbury (Herbert, *Autobiography*, ed. 1886, pp. 73-7, and App.). He became keeper in reversion of the Tower of Greenwich on 2 July 1611, keeper of Greenwich Park six days later, and joint lord-lieutenant of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Northumberland on 11 Feb. 1614. On 14 July of the last-named year he was promoted to the captaincy of the band of gentlemen pensioners, but had to resign it on the disgrace of his father in December 1619. After January 1619 he was made vice-admiral of Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Dorsetshire, and was reappointed captain of the band of gentlemen pensioners in January 1620, a post which he held until May 1635. On 28 May 1626 he succeeded his father as second Earl of Suffolk and hereditary visitor of Magdalene College, Cambridge, and was appointed during the same year lord-lieutenant of Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, Dorsetshire, and the town of Poole (15 June) and a privy councillor (12 Nov.). He was installed high steward of Ipswich on 19 March 1627, knight of the Garter on 24 April following, lord warden of the Cinque ports and constable of Dover Castle on 14 July 1628, lieutenant of the Cinque ports on 2 Sept. of the same year, governor of Berwick in June 1635, and a commissioner of regency on 26 March 1639. Howard died on 3 June 1640 at Suffolk House in the Strand, and was buried at Saffron

Walden, Essex (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1640, p. 266). In March 1612 he married Lady Elizabeth Home, daughter and co-heiress of George Home, earl of Dunbar, . . . and by this lady, who died on 19 Aug. 1633, had four sons and five daughters."

JAMES HOWARD, third Earl of Suffolk, eldest son of Theophilus, b. 23 Dec. 1619; d. 7 June 1688-9 in his sixty-ninth year. At his baptism on 10 February 1620 James Howard had the honor of having as sponsors, King James I and the Duke of Buckingham. He was made K.B. 1625 at the coronation of Charles I, and succeeded to the peerage 3 June 1640, and was immediately made joint Lord-Lieutenant of Suffolk. He was a member of Parliament for Oxford. In September 1647, during the turbulent times that preceded the execution of Charles I, the Commons, acting on a report from the Committee on Safety, decided to impeach Howard with six other peers, for high treason, but the matter was not carried further. On 8 September 1653, during the Commonwealth, Howard was sworn as High Steward of Ipswich. After the Restoration he became Lord Lieutenant of Suffolk. At the coronation of Charles II he acted as Earl Marshal of England and afterwards served as a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the King and filled many other important offices. On 28 September 1663, he was created, in a full coronation celebrated at Oxford (the King and Queen being present), Master of Arts of the University. He married three times and was buried at Saffron Walden.

He married for his second wife (settlement dated 13 February 1650), Barbara, daughter of Sir Edward and Barbara Villiers and relict of Hon. Charles Wenman; she was of a sweet and noble disposition, adding much to her husband's honor. The Countess died 13 December 1681, in her fifty-ninth year, leaving only one daughter, Elizabeth, who married Sir Thomas Felton. Sir Edward Villiers received the honor of Knighthood at Windsor, 7 September 1616. In 1620, he was Ambassador to Bohemia. On the 10th March 1622, he was President of the Muster in Ireland and was much esteemed; he died there 7 September 1626.

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LADY ELIZABETH HOWARD, daughter of James, third Earl of Suffolk, was baptized at Walden, 21 December 1656; m. Sir Thomas Felton; d. 15 December 1681 at the age of twenty-five and was buried at Walden. Her death occurred two days after that of her mother, the Countess of Suffolk, and on 28 December they were carried together in great state through the streets of London in an imposing procession containing several of the royal coaches and many of the military. They were buried together.

Her husband, SIR THOMAS FELTON, BART., was the fourth child of Sir Henry Felton and Susannah Tollemache, third daughter of Sir Lionel Tollemache. The family home of the Feltons was Playford, Suffolk. Sir Thomas succeeded his elder brother, Sir Adam, as fourth Baronet in February 1696. The Baronetcy was created in 1620, and became extinct on the death of Sir Thomas's brother, Sir Compton, on 18 November 1719.

Sir Thomas was a member of Parliament for Oxford for two Parliaments and represented Bury for four Parliaments. He was one of the Grooms of the Bedchamber to Charles II and Comptroller of the Household to the Queen Consort. He died 2 March 1709.

As James Howard, third Earl of Suffolk, left no male issue, the Barony of Howard of Walden fell into abeyance between his two daughters and co-heirs. The Suffolk earldom centred in the descendants of the eldest son of the first earl.

LADY ELIZABETH FELTON, sole daughter and heir of the Rt. Hon. Sir Thomas Felton, Bart., b. 18 December 1676; m. John Hervey, first Earl of Bristol; she was his second wife, and by him had seventeen children; d. at Ickworth, 1 May 1741. She was Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Caroline. The following is a copy of the inscription on her monument at Ickworth:

"Here lieth the body of Elizabeth, Countess of Bristol, second wife to John, Earl of Bristol, sole daughter and heir of the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Felton, of Playford Hall, in this County, Bart., Comptroller of the household to Queen Ann. She died, May 1741, in the 65th year of her age. *Mortua obtinuit plurima quae meruit.*"

Hervey

With the marriage of Elizabeth Felton to John Hervey, first Earl of Bristol, occurred a union between the families of Howard and Hervey, and this seems an appropriate place for a brief history of the Hervey family. The following extract is taken from notes by the Reverend S. H. A. Hervey, the able genealogist and writer on matters connected with the Herveys:

"In 1858 Lord Arthur Hervey printed a History of the Hervey family, the result of much research, labour and ingenuity on his part and on that of his eldest brother, Lord Bristol. Therein many errors in the old Heralds' Visitations and Pedigrees were exposed, and some sort of a succession was made out from very early times. We are there shown a family of Hervey settled in Bedfordshire in the 13th and two following centuries. Three successive John Herveys, father, son and grandson, were seated at Thurleigh in that county, and filled up the greater part of the 15th century. The first John married Margery Parles (afterwards Margery Argentine), and died somewhere about 1415. He lies buried at Thurleigh, and you yet may see his effigy in brass. The second John married Joan Niernuyt, and died soon after 1475. He also lies buried at Thurleigh. The third John married Agnes Morley, and died in 1474, before his father. His only son George, 6 months old at the time of his father's death, was knighted by Henry VIII at Tournay, was present at the Battle of Spurs in 1513, at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520, and died in 1521. He disinherited his only daughter, and the Bedfordshire estates went to his natural son Gerard, from whom was descended the Major Hervey with whom Lord Bristol corresponded. See Letters, 187, 243, 270.

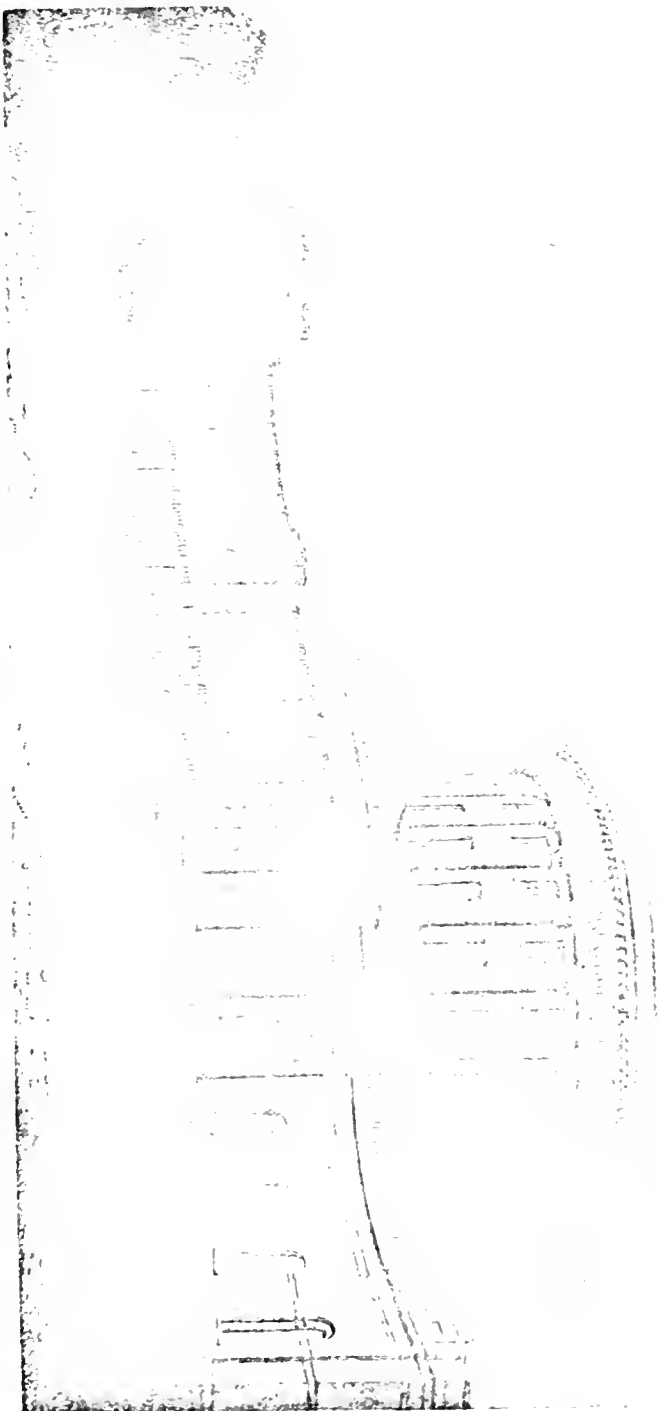
"But a younger son of the second John Hervey was Thomas Hervey, who somewhere about 1460 married Jane Drury, and by that marriage Ickworth and Wordwell were brought into the possession of his children, though not till after his and his wife's death. He died about 1468, and she before 1475. She married secondly Sir William Carew. Where Thomas Hervey lived and died is not known.

"Son and heir, William, was born in 1464, married Joan Cockett of Ampton in 1485, and died in 1528 or 1538. He lies buried in St. Mary's, Bury St. Edmunds.

"His son, John, married Elizabeth Pope of Mildenhall in 1510, and died in 1556.

"His son, William, married about 1555 Elizabeth Poley of Boxted, died in 1592, and is buried at Ickworth.

1811



*Schworth
North Front*

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“His son, John, married Frances Bocking of Ash-Bocking in Suffolk in 1582, died in 1630, and lies buried at Ickworth. I have printed his will in an Appendix to Lord Bristol’s Diary, a simple and pathetic will, in which the lawyer and his intolerable confusion of words find no place.

“His son, William, knighted in 1608, married firstly Susan Jermyn of Rushbrooke, and secondly Lady Penelope Gage, and died in 1660; he lies buried at Ickworth. By Lady Penelope he had no children.

“His eldest son, John, the uncle Hervey of these Letters, married his cousin, Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Hervey of Kidbrook, and died without children in 1680.

“A second son, William, died of smallpox while an undergraduate at Cambridge in 1642; an ode on his death will be found among Cowley’s Poems.

“A third son, Sir Thomas, born in 1625, married Isabella May, daughter of Sir Humphrey May, Kn’t., succeeded his brother John in 1680, and died in 1694. As I have already shown he has some part and lot in these letter-books.

“Of Sir William’s daughters, Judith married James Reynolds of Bumpsted in Essex; Mary was the first of the five wives of Sir Edward Gage of Hengrave; Susan married Sir Thomas Hanmer of Hanmer, Co. Flint; and Kezia married Thomas Tyrell of Gipping in Suffolk. Descendants of all these marriages will be found mentioned in the Letter-books.

“This brings us to John, son and heir of Sir Thomas Hervey, and who became the First Earl of Bristol.”

JOHN HERVEY, first Earl of Bristol, whose second wife was Elizabeth Felton, b. 27 August 1665; d. 20 June 1751.

There are few historical characters about the details of whose lives we may become more familiar than with the first Earl of Bristol. His letters to the number of twelve hundred, and a diary in which are recorded many details, even including those of receipts and expenditures, have been printed. He married twice and left a numerous progeny which developed into a long line of Earls. He was descended from an ancient and distinguished family of Herveys who had represented the people of Saint Edmunds-Bury in many parliaments. His father, Sir Thomas Hervey, Kn’t. (1624–1694), was noted for his “piety, chastity, truth and justice, mixed with wonderful wit and innocent mirth.” He made singularly his own that comprehensive character, *Ita in singulis, virtutebus enniebat quasi coetervas non*

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haberet. His wife was Isabella 2d, daughter of Sir Humphrey May, Vice-Chamberlain of the Household to Charles I. Sir Thomas died on 27 May 1694, aged seventy, and was buried with his ancestors at Ickworth. John Hervey was Baron of Ickworth, near Bury, in Suffolk; he was a country gentleman of ample fortune. His Parliamentary career covered the period 1694–1703. In March 1703, through the influence of the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, he was created Lord Hervey, a title which had already existed and become extinct in a junior branch of his family. On the accession of George I he was created Earl of Bristol, 19 October 1714. His first wife (1 November 1688) was Isabella Carr, daughter and sole heir of Sir Robert Carr, Bart., Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and of the Privy Council to King Charles II. By this marriage the Earl had three children, one of them, Carr, Lord Hervey, one of the Grooms of the Bedchamber to George, Prince of Wales, afterwards King George II, died on 15 November 1723, in his father's lifetime, without issue, having sat in Parliament for St. Edmunds-bury. He was a man of brilliant talents. "How sincerely glad I should be," says Pope, speaking of Carr, Lord Hervey, "to pay to that young nobleman's memory the debt I owed to his friendship, when early death deprived your family of as much wit and humour as he left behind him in any branch of it." Isabella Carr died 7 March 1693 at the age of twenty-three.*

From a biographical sketch in the first volume of his Letters, by S. H. A. H., I have made the following extracts:

"John Hervey was made LL.D. Cambridge, 16 Ap. 1705. With his first marriage begins his Diary and Expenses.† Ickworth, at this time, was not habitable, old Ickworth Hall having been deserted after 1621. A farm-house had been converted into a temporary residence. His grief at the death of his first wife seems to have been unbounded, not silently borne, not borne with very much of that resignation on which he afterward prided himself, but displayed in letters of such terrific length and vehemence as to call forth rebukes from his father. Two volumes of his letters contain correspondence with his second wife Elizabeth Felton.

* *Hist. Suffolk*, John Gage, p. 296.

† *The Diary of John Hervey, First Earl of Bristol*, 1688–1742.

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IN 1718 she was appointed one of the ladies of the bedchamber to Caroline, Princess of Wales, and so continued until her mistress' death in 1737. Her duties at Court caused periodical separations from her husband. No post was missed by either in their long correspondence. These letters were accompanied by the most extravagant expressions of affection and describing the miserable, intolerable condition that each was in by reason of the absence of the other. Mr. Croker, who went through these volumes at the time of his editing Lord Hervey's memoirs, thus describes them: 'The whole correspondence has been preserved. . . . It exhibits a series of love letters . . . of a passionate fondness that would seem excessive after a few months' matrimony. Lord Bristol was, in all tender emotions, at least, something of an enthusiast, and the Countess was vehement in all her feelings. There was a break in this feeling, however. Nominally this interruption was caused by Lady Bristol's interference in Bury politics, but probably there were other irritating causes to help. Possibly rumors of her flirtations at Bath or elsewhere, may have been among them. Certainly Lord and Lady Bristol were, in many respects, diametrically opposed to each other. He was a plain countryman, hating courts and towns and delighting in country pursuits and domestic life and the improvement of his estate; she was a courtier, miserable in the country. He took a solemn vow against gaming, which he recorded in his diary; she gamed herself and taught her children to do the same. He was always preaching and no doubt practised also, the wisdom of looking for health from temperance and exercise and country air; she was content to rely on the continual swallowing of drugs and potions, and the frequent visits of physicians and apothecaries. Why don't you take air and exercise? was the burden of his advice. Why won't you take your rhubarb? was the burden of hers. There could not have been two people more unlike in many respects than they were; and the fact of their living so harmoniously together for so many years would seem to support the theory that those who are unlike get on better together than those who are like.

"Lady Bristol was certainly clever in her way. . . . She was a considerable heiress. As heiress to her father, she brought to her husband the Felton property at Playford and thereabouts. As heiress to her mother, who was co-heiress to James, Earl of Suffolk and Lord Howard de Walden, she brought to him a part of Lord Audley's inheritance and to her descendants in the second generation, the Barony of Howard de Walden. She also inherited from the Howards a share in an estate in Staffordshire, or Shropshire, frequent allusion to which will be found in the letters.

"It was not long after John Hervey's second marriage that his Aunt Hervey died abroad, viz. in 1700, with whom both he and his father before him had been continually engaged in lawsuits. By her death he came into possession of the house in St. James Square which he had

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been renting of her, and of the uninhabited manor house at Ickworth. He seems immediately to have enlarged and improved one of the farm-houses at Ickworth, about one-half mile from the old hall, and thither he brought his wife, as he records in his diary, on 14 Ap. 1702. From that date begins his long residence of fifty years at Ickworth. It was the renewal of a dropped family acquaintance, the taking up of a dropped thread; for although the two generations before him had scarcely slept a night at Ickworth, although for eighty years or so old Ickworth Hall had been left to the owls and bats, yet the four generations before that had all lived and died there. Henceforth he poured on Ickworth all the affection of a warm heart, and never mentions it without adding an expression of his love. He had 17 children by his second wife and three by his first. Triplets were born in 1701 but did not survive.

"The Earl was a strong supporter of the Hanoverian and protestant succession. He was a great admirer of the Duke of Marlborough and had a very poor opinion of the Tories. He took little part in public political affairs. In the earlier part of his married life his visits to Newmarket were frequent and horse racing had no more enthusiastic patron than he. He kept a stud of running horses at Marham in Norfolk and occasionally rode a race himself. He was well read in the classics, in historical and theological works. In May 1741 Lady Bristol died. In Aug. 1743 John died. His eldest son George succeeded to the Barony and also to his place in the old Earl's affections. His daughter-in-law, Mary, Lady Hervey, did much to comfort his latter years, frequently visiting him at Ickworth, and wrote his letters and listened to his prophecies of the impending ruin of the country. He was 85 years, 5 mos. old at his death. He was described as a handsome man, of fair complexion and of middle stature. He had a good head for figures and was an excellent man of affairs."

JOHN, LORD HERVEY, son of John, first Earl of Bristol, b. 15 October, 1696; m. 21 April 1720, Mary Lepell; d. 8 August 1743. He was a distinguished statesman and author and held many important offices. He has been portrayed in such a variety of lights, depending upon whether the portrayal is by friend or foe, that it is somewhat difficult to form an accurate idea of his character and abilities. He has been called the Boswell of George II, his "Memoirs of the Reign of George II," published in 1848, more than a century after his death, being the foundation for the comparison. The work is in three volumes. He was the eldest son of the first Earl of Bristol by a second wife, and would have become the second Earl had he

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survived his father. After his graduation at Cambridge in 1715 he travelled, and soon afterwards began "the pursuit of poetry." During his frequent visits to the court at Richmond he fell in love with the beautiful Mary Lepell. The Dictionary of National Biography contains an extended account of his life and works, and the major part of what follows is taken therefrom. On the death of his half-brother, Carr, 14 November 1723, he succeeded to the courtesy title of Lord Hervey. Carr was his elder brother by another mother, Isabella, sole daughter and heiress of Sir Robert Carr, of Sleaford, Lincolnshire, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Carr, Lord Hervey, was born 17 September 1691, and he died unmarried. He was noted for his talents and was considered to be the father of Horace Walpole. At a by-election in April 1725 John, Lord Hervey, was returned to the House of Commons for the borough of Bury St. Edmunds. In Jan. 1728, he made the address in the House. Shortly afterwards he went with Stephen Fox to Italy, where he remained for the sake of his health about eighteen months. He returned to England in September 1729. Both Walpole and Pulteney bid for his support. Hervey finally broke with Pulteney, and was rewarded by Walpole with the office of Vice-Chamberlain of the Household on 7 May 1730, being admitted to the Privy Council the next day. Controversial pamphlets followed, ending in a duel with Pulteney in which both combatants were slightly wounded. Though only Vice-Chamberlain, Hervey's influence at court was great, and it was owing mainly to this influence that Walpole governed the Queen, and through her the King. On May 1 1740 Hervey was appointed Lord Privy Seal. He was a clever and unprincipled man, of loose morals and skeptical opinions. He was an effective though somewhat pompous speaker, a ready writer, and a keen observer of character. His wit and charm of manner made him a special favorite of women. His ill-health was ascribed by his father to "that detestable and poisonous plant, tea, which had once brought him to death's door." He was on intimate terms of friendship with the Queen.

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The cause of the deadly quarrel between Hervey and Pope is obscure. In 1733, Pope published his "Imitation of the First Satire of the Second Book of Horace," in which he grossly attacked Lady Mary by the name of Sappho, and bestowed the contemptuous name of Lord Fanny on Hervey. The latter answered the attack by other poems.

By his wife Hervey had eight children, three of whom subsequently became Earls of Bristol, and another a General in the army.

There is a full-length portrait of Hervey in the National Portrait Gallery. It was painted by J. B. Van Loo in 1741, and engraved in the same year by John Taber, Jr. Another portrait by an unknown artist was sent by F. Hanbury Williams to the Loan Collection of National Portraits at South Kensington, in 1867 (Cat. No. 257). There is also a portrait at Ickworth. An engraving of Hervey is given in Harding's "Series of Portraits to illustrate the Earl of Oxford's Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors," 1803. A long list of Hervey's publications may be found in the article in the Biographical Dictionary already referred to. The three volumes of Memoirs form a close and minute portraiture of court life and intrigue, and are indispensable to the student of the first ten years of George II.

Walpole, who, from his Memoirs, does not seem personally to have liked Hervey, says in his "Royal and Noble Authors" that "his pamphlets are equal to any that ever were written" (vol. iv. p. 181). His pamphlet entitled "Ancient and Modern Liberty Stated and Compared" may be regarded as one of his most able productions.

I have ventured to add the following lines which I found in Gage's "History of Suffolk," page 317. They were written by Lord Hervey in memory of a sister:

*"Beneath the covering of this little stone
Lie the poor shrunk yet dear remains of one
With merit humble, and with virtue fair,
With knowledge modest, and with wit sincere,
Upright in all the social paths of life,
The friend, the daughter, sister and the wife!"*



Molly Lepell
From a painting at Ickworth

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*So just in disposition of her soul
Nature left reason nothing to control:
Firm, pious, patient, affable of mind,
Happy in life, and yet in death resigned.
Just in the zenith of those golden days
When the mind ripens ere the form decays,
The hand of Fate untimely cut her thread,
And left the world to weep that virtue fled,
Its pride when living, and its grief when dead."*

Molly Lepell

Hervey's wife, Molly Lepell, was one of the most beautiful and distinguished women of her time. She was one of the Maids of Honor to Caroline, Princess of Wales. Her biography is also in the Dictionary of National Biography, and from that article I have drawn freely. She was the daughter of Brigadier-General Nicholas Lepell by his wife Mary, daughter and co-heiress of John Brooke, of Rushbrooke, Suffolk. She was probably born on 26 September 1700, although the inscription in Ickworth church gives 1706. Her father, whose full name was said to be Claus (Nicholas) Wedig Lepell, was a descendant of a noble family in Pomerania. He was probably born about 1666. Careful investigations by S. H. A. H. tend to show that these Lepells were in no way connected with Sark, an island in the British Channel with which their names had been associated. They were more probably from Nurendorf on the Island of Usedom in the Baltic, which island formerly belonged to the Dukes of Pomerania. While a page of honor to Prince George of Denmark, he married in 1698 a lady with twenty thousand pounds, and in the following year obtained an act of naturalization. At the time of the marriage the bride was twenty-five and the groom thirty-two. The arms of the Lepells, a silver shield with a band of red, are the same as those used by General Lepell, who was a distinguished and brave officer. He took part in the battle of Briburga, 1710, when the allies were fighting the French, and he then became Commander-in-chief of the forces. Later, he commanded a regiment of dragoons which was almost destroyed at Villa Viciosa.

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He was in active service in Catalonia, Spain, in 1714. He died 8 October 1742.

Mary was made a Cornet in her father's regiment as soon as she was born, and she was paid for many years after she became a Maid of Honor. A pension was procured for her from George I and her name removed from the list of officers of the army. At court Mary Lepell divided the honors for wit and beauty with her friend Edith Bellenden. Pope and Gay sang her charms. Pulteney and Chesterfield wrote a joint ballad in her praise. Voltaire, another of her numerous admirers, addressed verses to her beginning with the lines:

*"Hervey would you know the passion
You have kindled in my breast?"*

which are the only English verses now extant of his composition. Even Horace Walpole, who became a correspondent of hers later in life, and in 1762 dedicated to her his "Anecdotes of Painting in England," always spoke of her with the greatest respect and admiration. Her good sense and good nature won for her the esteem of the ladies as well as the flatteries of the wits. Her marriage with John Hervey was announced to have taken place on 25 October 1720. It must have occurred, however, several months earlier, as in a letter preserved at Ickworth and dated 20 May 1720 Lord Bristol congratulates her on her marriage, which he calls a secret.

In spite of her husband's infidelity, she lived with him on very amicable terms, and was an admirable mother to a large family of troublesome children, who inherited those peculiar qualities which gave rise to the well-known saying, ascribed to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, among others, "that this world consisted of men, women, and Herveys." She retained many of the attractions of youth long after her husband's death. Chesterfield, in a letter, speaks in the most admiring terms of her good breeding and says that she knows more than is necessary for any woman, for she understands Latin perfectly well though she wisely conceals it.



Lady Mary Hervey
From a painting at Ickworth

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Lady Hervey's letters to the Rev. Edmund Morris, formerly tutor to her sons, written between 1742 and 1768, were published in 1821. Several earlier letters may be found in Lady Suffolk's "Letters," 2 volumes, 1824. Two portraits of Lady Hervey are at Ickworth; another formerly belonging to the Strawberry Hill Collection, painted by Alan Ramsay, was sent by Lord Lifford to the Loan Collection of National Portraits at South Kensington, in 1867 (Cat. No. 258). An engraving from a miniature is in Walpole's letters (v. p. 129). The lines on Lady Hervey's tomb were written by Walpole.

LADY MARY HERVEY, daughter of John, Lord Hervey, b. 1726; m. 31 October 1745, Captain George FitzGerald of Turrough Park, Co. Mayo, Ireland; d. in London 9 April 1815.

She was a woman of great personal charm and strength of character. The following is an extract from a contemporary magazine under the head of "Obituary with Anecdotes of Remarkable Persons," May 1815.

"April 9. In Charles St., Berkeley Square, in consequence of her clothes catching fire the preceding evening, in her 90th year, Lady Mary FitzGerald sister of the late Earl of Bristol, and to the present Duchess of Devonshire, the Countess of Liverpool, the Earls of Bristol. . . . Lady Mary was many years one of the Maids of Honor to her Majesty, until she was superannuated. She was one of the most amiable women of the age. . . . The rank of Earl's daughters was given her by King's Warrant in 1753." (*See FitzGerald.*)

The Percy Branch

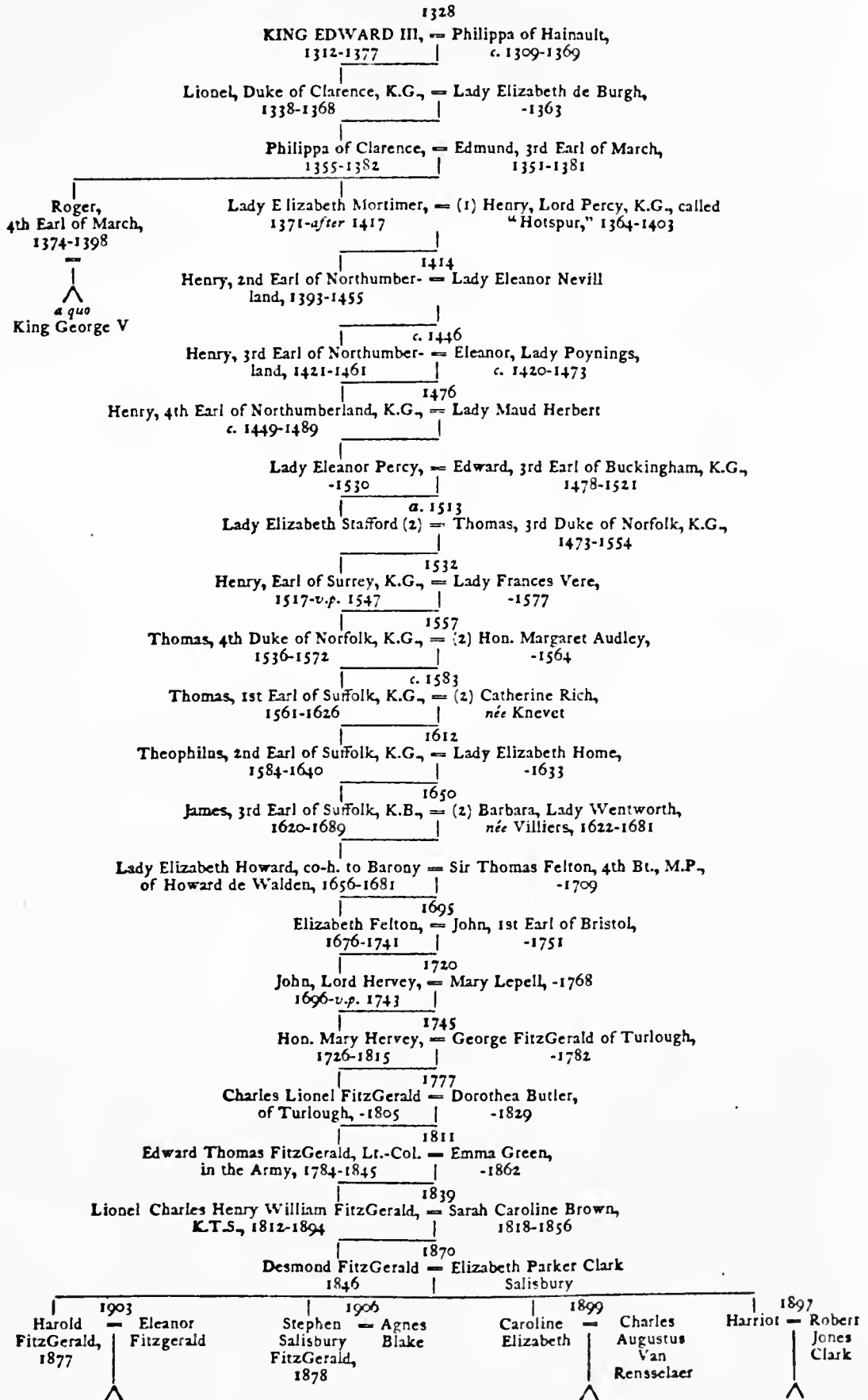
From King Edward III, 1312, and his son Lionel, Duke of Clarence, 1338, to Elizabeth, daughter of the Duke of Buckingham, who married the third Duke of Norfolk, of the Howard family, in 1513.

LIONEL of Antwerp, Earl of Ulster and Duke of Clarence (1338–1368), third son of King Edward III and his wife Philippa of Hainault, was born at Antwerp on the vigil of St. Andrew, 29 Nov. 1338 (Murimuth, *Cont. Chron.* p. 87), during the long stay made by his parents in the Low Countries by reason of the war against France. He was baptised Lionel, either, we are told, ‘from being the offspring of the Lion of England,’ his father, or ‘to revive the British name Llywelyn.’ From the place of his birth he derived his usual surname ‘of Antwerp.’ When he was only three years old his father obtained for him the prospect of a rich marriage, which foreshadowed the later policy of Edward of concentrating the great fiefs in the hands of his children. In 1332 the young William de Burgh, sixth lord of Connaught and third earl of Ulster, . . . and the head of one of the greatest of the Anglo-Norman houses in Ireland, had been murdered, leaving an only child, a daughter, Elizabeth, by his wife, Maud of Lancaster. About 1341 Edward arranged to marry Lionel to Elizabeth de Burgh, then a girl of about nine, and six years the senior of her destined husband, to whom she brought the ample marriage portion of western and northern Ireland. Moreover, to make this great inheritance more of a reality, Edward III appointed Ralph Ufford—a gallant soldier, who had married the widowed Countess of Ulster, Elizabeth’s mother—governor of Ireland. This was in February 1344. No great success, however, attended Ufford’s efforts on behalf of Lionel and Elizabeth. He died in 1346.

“Lionel’s first public office was obtained on 1 July 1345,

Genealogical Table No. 3

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when he was appointed guardian and lieutenant of England during his father's absence abroad. He was reappointed to the same office on 25 June 1346 (Doyle, *Official Baronage*, i. 396). Not later than January 1347 he was created Earl of Ulster, whereupon Edward III ordered that all proceedings connected with Elizabeth's inheritance should be henceforth transacted in his name. In 1352 the actual marriage took place. In 1355 Lionel was made a knight and entered into the career of arms. In September he went with his father on an expedition to the north of France (Avesbury, p. 427; Walsingham, *Hist. Anglica*, i. 280; *Chron. Angliae*, 1328-88, p. 33). The French, however, retreated as Edward advanced from Calais, and nothing important was done. On 8 May 1359 Lionel became steward of the manor of Westraddon, Devonshire (Doyle, i. 396).

"During these years the state of Ireland had grown steadily worse, and very little of Elizabeth's vast heritage was really in the hands of herself or her husband. In 1361 Edward III resolved to send Lionel as governor, believing 'that our Irish dominions have been reduced to such utter devastation, ruin, and misery, that they may be totally lost if our subjects there are not immediately succoured.' A great gathering of English holders of land in Ireland was assembled at Easter. The assembled lords were ordered to provide soldiers and accompany Lionel to defend their estates. On 1 July Lionel was appointed the king's lieutenant in Ireland, having been previously made a knight of the Garter. He landed in Dublin in September 1361, accompanied by his wife and many great landowners. The young viceroy displayed some vigour. He provided for his own safety by prohibiting any man born in Ireland from approaching his army ('Annals of Ireland' in *Cartularies, &c., of St. Mary's, Dublin*, ii. 395), but he lost a hundred of his mercenaries on an inroad into the O'Byrne's country, and he was soon glad to rely as usual upon the aid of the Norman lords. On 10 Feb. 1362 Edward strove to strengthen his son's hands by reiterating the orders issued in the previous year to the

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possessors of Irish estates. On 13 Nov. of the same year Lionel was created Duke of Clarence, at the same time as his brother John was made Duke of Lancaster. The title was derived from the town of Clare in Suffolk, the lordship of which, with other shares in the divided Gloucester estates, had been inherited by Elizabeth from her grandmother, Elizabeth of Clare, . . . the sister and co-heiress of Gilbert of Clare (1291-1314), . . . the last earl of Gloucester of the house of Clare. The special occasion for the grant was the celebration of the king's fiftieth birthday (*Chron. Angliae*, p. 52). Lionel, however, remained in Ireland, and was thus precluded from a personal investiture before the assembled estates. His salary was now doubled, and his army increased. He busied himself with various works, 'agreeable to him for sports and his other pleasures as well within the castle of Dublin as elsewhere.' He made inquiries into the rights of the chartered towns and carried out many expeditions against the Irish. In the same year his wife Elizabeth died, leaving an only child, a daughter named Philippa, whose marriage in 1368 to Edmund Mortimer, third earl of March, . . . ultimately transferred her claims to the throne to the Yorkist house.

"Lionel was absent from his government between April and December 1364, when the Earl of Ormonde acted as his deputy. He was again in England in 1365, on which occasion he was represented in Ireland by Sir Thomas Dale (*Cartularies, &c., of St. Mary's, Dublin*, ii. 396). He still continued his efforts to obtain real possession of his dead wife's estates; but, though Edward III did his best to provide him with supplies, he only succeeded in getting into his hands a small part of the sea-coast of eastern Ulster. His constant efforts to rule through Englishmen led to a great quarrel between the 'English by birth' and 'English by blood,' which, in order to unite both factions in the wars against the native Irish, Edward III did his best to appease.

"Lionel transferred the exchequer from Dublin to Carlow,

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and spent 500*l.* in walling that town (*ib.* ii. 396). Early in Lent 1367 he met a famous parliament at Kilkenny. The great work of this assembly was the statute of Kilkenny, which aimed, by a series of minute restrictions and prohibitions, at preventing the tendency to intermixture between the 'English by blood' and the native Irish, which was rapidly destroying the basis of English rule and withdrawing the English settlers from English civilization. With the same object the distinctions between 'English by blood' and 'English by birth' were, so far as possible, removed.

"This was the last important act of Lionel in Ireland. He had grown weary of his thankless task. In November 1366 he returned to England, declaring that he would never go back with his own free will (*Eulogium Historiarum*, iii. 241). His government was handed over to Gerald Fitzgerald, fourth earl of Desmond. . . . His rule, unsuccessful as it was, marks an epoch in the history of the English relations with Ireland. In 1635 the claim of Charles I to the lands of Connaught was partly based on descent from Lionel (*Strafford Letters*, i. 454-5).

"In 1366 a second rich marriage was proposed for Lionel. The Visconti of Milan were anxious to attain a social position among the rulers of Europe corresponding to their wealth and power. Galeazzo Visconti, lord of Pavia, and brother of the more famous Bernabò Visconti, lord of Milan, accordingly proposed that his beautiful and only daughter, Violante, should marry Lionel of Clarence. On 30 July Humphrey Bohun, earl of Hereford, was sent to Milan to negotiate the match (*Foedera*, iii. 797). After two years' negotiations a settlement was arranged. Violante brought with her a dower of two million florins of gold and many Piedmontese towns and castles, including Alba, a possession of the Visconti since the days of Archbishop Giovanni, and situated in Montferrat, on the Tanaro, between Cherasco and Asti (*Chronicon Placentinum* in Muratori, *Scriptores Rer. Ital.* xvi. 510; *Ann. Mediolanenses* in *ib.* xvi. 738). On 25 April 1368 the marriage treaty was signed at Windsor, and an instal-

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ment of the treasure paid down. There was vague and foolish talk in England of how the princes and towns of Italy had promised to do homage to Lionel, and how in time he might become emperor or king of Italy (Hardyng, *Chronicle*, p. 333). The chroniclers believed that Galeazzo had surrendered half his territories to his son-in-law (*Chron. Angliae*, p. 61). Lionel married his little daughter to the Earl of March (*Cont. Eulogium Hist.* iii. 333), and set out from England to fetch his bride. He was magnificently equipped, and took with him in his train 457 men and 1,280 horses (*Foedera*, iii. 845). He travelled by way of Dover and Calais to Paris, where he was received with great pomp by Charles V and the Dukes of Berri and Burgundy. He was lodged at the Louvre. He then travelled through Sens to Chambéry, where he was magnificently entertained by the Count of Savoy, whose sister Blanche was the mother of Violante. The count accompanied Lionel over the Alps to Milan. On 27 May Lionel reached Milan, being met outside the Ticino gate by Galeazzo, Bernabò, Bernabò's son Gian Galeazzo, Count of Virtù, with his wife Isabella of France, and a gorgeously arrayed throng of Milanese grandees. The marriage was celebrated before the door of Milan Cathedral on 5 June (*Ann. Mediolanenses*, p. 738; the English authorities say on 29 May). There were festivities of extraordinary magnificence, elaborately described in the Milanese chroniclers (Muratori, *Script.* xvi. 738, 739, 1051). Among those present at the wedding feast was the aged poet Petrarch, who sat among the greatest of the guests at the first table (*ib.* xvi. 739; cf., however, Koerting, *Petrarca's Leben und Werke*, who doubts the fact on the ground of Petrarch's own silence about the marriage). Five months of continuous feasts, jousts, and revels followed, when early in October Lionel was smitten by a sudden and violent sickness at Alba. He had gone through an Italian summer carelessly, and without changing his English habits. The illness grew worse. On 3 Oct. he drew up his will, and on 7 Oct. 1368 he died. There was, as usual in Italy, some suspicion of poison, and one of his followers, Ed-

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ward le Despenser, declaring for the church in the great contest between the papacy and the Visconti (Higden, *Polychronicon*, viii. 371, 419), joined Hawkwood and his White Company in their war against Milan, until satisfied of Galeazzo's innocence. There was in truth no motive for such an act, and Galeazzo went almost mad with grief at the loss of his son-in-law and the consequent failure of his ambitions (Muratori, *Scriptores*, xvi. 740). Lionel's remains were at first buried at Pavia, whence they were, in accordance with his will, removed to the convent of the Austin Friars at Clare in Suffolk, and deposited side by side with the body of his first wife. Violante left no issue by Lionel, and soon afterwards married Otto, marquis of Montferrat. Lionel was a man of great strength and beauty of person, and exceedingly tall in stature (Hardyng, *Chron.* p. 334.)"*

PHILIPPA of Clarence, only daughter of the Duke of Clarence, and her husband:

"EDMUND DE MORTIMER, third Earl of March (1351-1381), Marshal of England, was the son of Roger de Mortimer (V), second earl of March, . . . and his wife Philippa, daughter of William Montacute, first earl of Salisbury, . . . and was born at 'Langonith' (? Llangynwyd or Llangynog) on 1 Feb. 1351 (*Monasticon*, vi. 353). When still a child there was an abortive proposal in 1354 to marry him to Alice Fitzalan, daughter of Richard Fitzalan II, earl of Arundel. . . . On 26 Feb. 1360 the death of his father procured for the young Edmund the succession to the title and estates of his house when only in his tenth year. He became the ward of Edward III, but was ultimately assigned to the custody of William of Wykeham, . . . bishop of Winchester, and of the above-mentioned Richard, earl of Arundel (Dugdale, *Baronage*, i. 148). Henceforth he was closely associated with the king's sons, and especially with Edward the Black Prince. Mortimer's political importance dates from his marriage with Philippa, only daughter of Lionel of Antwerp, duke of Clarence, . . . the second surviving son of Ed-

* *DiÆ. N. Biog.* vol. xxxiii.

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ward III, by his wife Elizabeth de Burgh, the heiress of Ulster. Philippa was born in 1355, and her wedding with Mortimer took place in the spring of 1368, just before the departure of Lionel for Italy (*Cont. Eulogium Hist.* iii. 333). Before the end of the year Lionel's death gave to his son-in-law the enjoyment of his great estates. When, on coming of age, Mortimer entered into public life, he represented not simply the Mortimer inheritance, but also the great possessions of his wife. Besides his Shropshire, Herefordshire, Welsh, and Meath estates, which came from the Mortimers and Genvilles, he was, in name at least, lord of Ulster and Connaught, and by far the most conspicuous representative of the Anglo-Norman lords of Ireland. He was now styled Earl of Ulster as well as Earl of March. But important as were the immediate results of Edmund's marriage, the ulterior results were even more far-reaching. The descendants of Philippa before long became the nearest representatives of the line of Edward III, and handed on to the house of York that claim to the throne which resulted in the Wars of the Roses. And not only the legitimist claim but the territorial strength of the house of York was almost entirely derived from the Mortimer inheritance.

"In 1369 Mortimer became marshal of England, an office which he held until 1377. In the same year he served against the French. On 8 Jan. 1371 he received his first summons to parliament (*Lords' Report on Dignity of a Peer*, iv. 648). In 1373 he received final livery of his own estates. On 8 Jan. 1373 he was sent as joint ambassador to France, and in March of the same year he was chief guardian of the truce with Scotland (Doyle, *Official Baronage*, ii. 468). The Wigmore family chronicler (*Monasticon*, vi. 353) boasts of the extraordinary success with which he discharged these commissions, and erroneously says that he was only eighteen at the time. In 1375 he served in the expedition sent to Brittany to help John of Montfort, and captured the castle of Saint-Mathieu (Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* i. 318-319; Froissart, viii. 212, ed. Luce).

"Mortimer's close association with the Prince of Wales and

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his old guardian, William of Wykeham, necessarily involved an attitude of hostility to John of Gaunt. Ancient feuds between the houses of March and Lancaster still had their effects, and Edmund's dislike of Gaunt was strengthened by a feeling that Lancaster was a possible rival to the claims of his wife and son to the succession. Accordingly he took up a strong line in favour of the constitutional as against the court party, and was conspicuous among the aristocratic patrons of the popular opposition in the Good parliament of 1376. He was, with Bishop Courtenay of London, the leader of the committee of twelve magnates appointed at the beginning of the session, on 28 April, to confer with the commons (*Rot. Parl.* ii. 322; *Chron. Angliae*, 1328-88, p. 70; Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* ii. 428-9). The commons showed their confidence in him by electing as their speaker Sir Peter De la Mare, his steward, who, as knight of the shire for Herefordshire, was probably returned to parliament through his lord's influence. . . . A vigorous attack on the courtiers was now conducted by the commons under their speaker; but the death of the Black Prince on 8 June weakened the effect of their action. John of Gaunt now sought to obtain from parliament a settlement of the succession in case of the death of the Black Prince's only son, Richard. He even urged that, as in France, the succession should descend through males only, thus openly setting up his own claims against those of the Countess of March (*Chron. Angl.* 1328-88, pp. 92-3). The commons prudently declined to discuss the subject. Yet even with the support of the knights, the Earl of March and the constitutional bishops were not strong enough of themselves to resist Gaunt and the courtiers. But they continued their work until the end of the session, on 6 July, their last care being to enforce the appointment of a permanent council, some members of which were always to be in attendance on the king. The Earl of March was among the nine additional persons appointed to this council (*ib.* pp. lxviii, 100). But as soon as the parliament was dissolved, Lancaster, in the king's name, repudiated all its acts. The new coun-

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cillors were dismissed, and March was ordered to discharge his office as marshal by surveying the defences of Calais and other of the more remote royal castles (*ib.* p. 107), while his steward, De la Mare, was thrown into prison. But March, 'preferring to lose his staff rather than his life,' and believing that he would be waylaid and murdered on the narrow seas, resigned the office of marshal (*ib.* p. 108).

"After the accession of Richard II (21 June 1377), power remained with Lancaster, though he now chose to be more conciliatory. March's position was moreover immensely improved. The king was a young child. The next heir by blood was March's own son. On 16 July 1377 March bore the second sword and the spurs at the coronation of the little king. He was not, however, in a position to claim any great share in the administration, and contented himself with a place on the new council of government, into whose hands power now fell (*Foedera*, iv. 10; Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* ii. 442). But he was as strong as ever in parliament. He was among the lords whose advice, as in 1376, was requested by the parliament of October 1377, and had the satisfaction of seeing his steward again elected as the speaker of this assembly. It was a further triumph when the young king was forced by the commons to remodel his council, and when March was one of the nine members of the new and extremely limited body thus selected (*ib.* ii. 444; cf. *Chron. Angl.* p. 164). On 1 Jan. 1378 he was appointed chief member of a commission to redress infractions of the truce with Scotland (*Foedera*, iv. 26; cf. *Chron. Angl.* p. 203), and on 20 Jan. was put first on a commission appointed to inspect and strengthen the fortifications of the border strongholds of Berwick, Carlisle, Roxburgh, and Bamburgh (Doyle, *Official Baronage*, ii. 468). On 14 Feb. 1379 he was sent with other magnates on a special embassy to Scotland.

"On 22 Oct. 1379 March was appointed lieutenant of Ireland (*Foedera*, iv. 72). It was convenient for the party of Lancaster to get him out of the way, and his great interests in Ireland gave

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him a special claim to the thankless office. Those parts of the island, Ulster, Connaught, and Meath, over which he bore nominal sway, had long been the most disorderly districts; and so far back as 1373 the English in Ireland had sent a special commission to Edward III representing that the only way of abating the evils that were rampant in those regions was for the king to force the Earl of March to dwell upon his Irish estates and adequately defend them. Partly then to enter upon the effectual possession of his own estates ('adrecuperandum comitatum suum de Holuestre,' Monk of Evesham, p. 19), and partly to set the king's rule on a better footing, March now accepted the government of Ireland for three years. He stipulated for good terms. He was to have twenty thousand marks paid over to him, from which he was to provide troops, but he was not to be held accountable to the crown for his expenditure of the money. He was also to have the disposal of the king's ordinary revenue in Ireland. Before he left his Welsh estates he made his will, dated 1 May 1380, at Denbigh, the contents of which are summarised in Dugdale's 'Baronage,' i. 149, and printed in Nichols's 'Royal Wills,' pp. 104-16. On 15 May 1380 March arrived in Ireland (*Cart., &c., of St. Mary's, Dublin*, ii. 284), having among his other attendants a herald of his own, called March herald. His first work was to establish himself in his wife's Ulster estates. In Eastern Ulster his arms were successful, the more so as some of the native chieftains threw themselves on his side, though these before long deserted him, on account of his treacherous seizure of an important Irish leader, Magennis, lord of Iveagh, in what is now co. Down. But the O'Neils ruled without a rival over Western Ulster, and March could not even draw a supply of timber from the forests of the land that was nominally his own. He had to bring the oak timber used to build a bridge over the Bann, near Coleraine, from his South Welsh lands on the Usk. This bridge was protected by fortifications at each end and by a tower in the middle; thus only was it prevented from being captured by the Irish. March also made some efforts to

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obtain possession of Connaught, and succeeded in capturing Athlone from the O'Connors, and thus secured the passage over the Shannon. But Kilkenny Castle was now assailed by the Hibernised Norman sept of the Tobyns, to revenge the imprisonment of their chief within its walls. This and other business drew the viceroy into Munster. There he caught cold in crossing a river in winter time, and on 27 Dec. 1381 he died at the Dominican friary at Cork (Gilbert, *Viceroy's of Ireland*, pp. 234, 242-7, gives the best modern account of March's Irish government). The Anglo-Irish writers, who thoroughly knew the difficulties of his position, say that after great efforts he appeased most of the wars in Ireland (*Cart., &c., of St. Mary's, Dublin*, ii. 285). In England his government of Ireland was regarded as pre-eminently wise and successful ('multum de hoc quod amisit recuperavit,' Monk of Evesham, p. 19; *Chron. Angl.* p. 334; Adam of Usk, p. 21).

"According to the directions in his will, March's body was interred on the left hand of the high altar of Wigmore Abbey (Nichols, p. 104). An Irish chronicle speaks of his being buried in the church of the Holy Trinity at Cork, but this probably only refers to the more perishable parts of his body (*Cart., &c., of St. Mary's, Dublin*, ii. 285). March had been an extremely liberal benefactor to Wigmore Abbey, the chief foundation of his ancestors. The old fabric of the abbey church had become decayed and ruinous, and March granted lands in Radnor and elsewhere to the value of two thousand marks a year for its reconstruction. He laid the foundation-stone of the new structure with his own hands, and by the time of his death the walls had been carried up to their appointed height, and were only wanting a roof. He also presented to the canons costly vestments and many relics, especially the body of St. Seiriol, and a large piece of the wood of the true cross. He further promised, when he took his departure from the canons of Wigmore as he went to Ireland, that on his safe return he would confer on them the advowson of three churches and the appropriation

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of Stoke Priory. Further benefactions were made by him in his will, including a rare and choice collection of relics. For all this liberality he is warmly commended by the Wigmore annalist (*Monasticon*, vi. 353), who quotes the eulogistic epitaph of the grateful canons, which celebrated his constancy, wisdom, popularity, and bounty. March supported Adam of Usk, his tenant's son, when the future chronicler was studying civil and canon law at Oxford (Adam of Usk, p. 21), and in return Adam loudly celebrates his praises. March was also highly eulogised by the St. Albans chronicler, who was a warm partisan of the constitutional opposition.

“The Countess Philippa died before her husband, who celebrated her interment at Wigmore by almost regal pomp. Her epitaph speaks of her liberality, kindness, royal descent, and severity of morals. The children of Edmund and Philippa were: (1) Elizabeth, the eldest, born at Usk on 12 Feb. 1371, and married to the famous ‘Hotspur,’ Henry Percy, son of the Earl of Northumberland. . . . (2) Roger, also born at Usk on 11 April 1374. . . . (3) Philippa, born at Ludlow on 21 Nov. 1375, who became first the second wife of Richard Fitzalan III, earl of Arundel, . . . and afterwards married John of St. John; she died in 1400 (Adam of Usk, p. 53). (4) Edmund, born at Ludlow on 9 Nov. 1376, the future ally of Owen Glendower. . . . The above dates are from the Wigmore annalist (*Monasticon*, vi. 354), who now becomes contemporary and fairly trustworthy. (5) Sir John Mortimer, executed in 1423 for treason, and sometimes described as a son of Mortimer's, must, if a son at all, have been illegitimate (Sandford, *Genealogical Hist.* pp. 222–3). He is not mentioned in March's will.”*

ELIZABETH MORTIMER, daughter of Edmund and Philippa, and granddaughter of King Edward III, b. at Usk 12 February 1371, and her husband:

“SIR HENRY PERCY, called Hotspur (1364–1403), born on 20 May 1364, was eldest son of Henry Percy, first earl of

* *DiB. N. Biog.* vol. xxxix.

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Northumberland, . . . by his first wife, Margaret, daughter of Ralph, fourth baron Neville of Raby . . . (G. E. C[okayne], *Complete Peerage; Scrope and Grosvenor Roll*, p. 199; Dugdale, *Baronage*, i. 276). His active life began early. Knighted by the aged Edward III at Windsor in April 1377, along with the future Richard II and Henry IV, who were almost exactly of his own age, Percy had his first taste of war in the following year, accompanying his father when he recovered Berwick Castle from the Scots after a siege of nine days (Walsingham, i. 388; Beltz, pp. 12, 314). He was soon employed in border affairs, and in 1384 associated with his father as warden of the marches, becoming in the next year governor of Berwick. The sleepless activity which he showed in repressing the restless hostility of the Scottish borderers won him among them the sobriquet of Hatspore, that is Hotspur (Walsingham, ii. 144).

“His military reputation was already beyond his years, and in the summer of 1386 he was sent over to Calais, where an attack was expected. But no attack came, and the fiery Hotspur, weary of inaction, made plundering raids into the enemy's country, and then, learning that the French meditated an invasion of England, returned home to repel it (*ib.*). He and his younger brother Ralph are said by Froissart to have been stationed at Yarmouth for that purpose. In the autumn he gave evidence in the famous Scrope and Grosvenor controversy. Next year the king's favourites entrusted him with a squadron to prevent French retaliation for the Earl of Arundel's recent naval exploits. The chroniclers assert that, being envious of Percy, they sent him to sea ill-found, and even sought to inform the French of his movements (*ib.* ii. 156; Monk of Evesham, p. 79). But he executed his commission in safety, and in the following spring he was given the Garter vacated by the king's favourite, the Duke of Ireland, on his condemnation by the Merciless parliament.

“The Scottish truce drawing to a close, Percy was once more sent into the north as warden of the marches. He seems hardly

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to have been fully prepared for the great Scottish invasion in the summer of 1388, but it was nevertheless the occasion of perhaps his most famous exploit—the battle of Otterburn. There are some discrepancies between the English and Scottish accounts of the battle, while the much more circumstantial narrative of Froissart, which he had, he tells us, from combatants on both sides, is, as usual, not without its difficulties. Both marches were simultaneously invaded, the Earls of Douglas, March, and Moray harrying Northumberland. After penetrating, so, at least, says Froissart (ed. Buchon, xi. 362 sqq.), to the gates of Durham, they offered battle before Newcastle, into which Percy and his brother Ralph had thrown themselves. This he did not feel himself in sufficient strength to accept, but promised to fight them within three days, and they drew off northwards along the road into Scotland through Redesdale (Walsingham, ii. 176). It is rather implied that the Scots on their part had undertaken to wait for the time he mentioned. Froissart says that Douglas had captured Percy's pennon in a skirmish before Newcastle, and declared he would plant it on the towers of Dalkeith, but would not deny its owner an opportunity of recovering it (cf. Boethius, p. 332). Be this as it may, on the still summer's evening of a Wednesday in August (the 5th according to Hardyng and Knighton; a fortnight later according to Froissart, whose date agrees better with the royal proclamation of 13 Aug.) (*Foedera*, vii. 594), Hotspur suddenly fell upon their camp at Otterburn in Redesdale, some thirty miles northwest of Newcastle (Hardyng, p. 342; Knighton, col. 2728; *Scoti-chronicon*, ii. 406). The Scottish leaders were roused from their supper and did not have time to completely arm themselves, but the growing dusk and the general character of the ground served them well, and any advantage their assailants may have had in numbers (the estimates are conflicting) was neutralised by the fatigue of the long forced march from Newcastle (Wyn-toun, iii. 35). They fought desperately all night by the light of the moon (Froissart; the moon was full on 20 Aug.), until

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Douglas fell, whether by unknown hands or, as the English doubtfully boasted, by the sword of Hotspur, and Hotspur himself was surrounded and captured with his brother Ralph.

"Both sides claimed the victory, the English, however, very faintly. 'It was,' says Froissart, 'the best fought and severest of all the battles I have related in my history.' . . . The popular imagination was kindled by its romantic features, and made it the subject of the well-known ballad which exists in both Scottish and English versions (Percy, *Reliques*, i. 21-34; Child, iii. 302, 315; Scott, *Minstrelsy of the Border*, i. 354). The even more famous ballad of 'Chevy Chase, or the Hunting of the Cheviot,' mingles it with incidents which, if they have any historical basis at all, belong to a later time. Thomas Barry . . . wrote a Latin poem upon it in the sixteenth century. A cross marking the spot where Douglas is supposed to have fallen is locally known as Percy's Cross. Hotspur was captured, according to the English chroniclers, by the Earl of March and taken to his castle of Dunbar; but the Scottish accounts represent his captor as Sir John Montgomerie, . . . who is said to have built with his ransom the castle of Polnoon at Eaglesham in Ayrshire.

"Percy was free again and in command on the borders before July 1389. In October his term of office as warden of Carlisle and the west march was prospectively prolonged for five years (*Ord. Privy Council*, i. 12*d*). The east march was afterwards added. But the truce of 1389 made his constant presence there unnecessary. In March 1391 he went to Calais in the train of Henry of Derby to take up the challenge of three French knights who were fighting all comers at Saint Inglevert. The Frenchmen confessed them their most dangerous opponents (Saint-Denys, i. 680). From 1393 to 1395, perhaps longer, Percy was governor of Bordeaux. The citizens at first refused to admit him because he came in the name of John of Gaunt as Duke of Aquitaine. They would only be ruled, they said, by the king or his son, if one was born to him, and Hotspur had to de-

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clare that he came by the king's authority (*Annales Ricardi II*, p. 158; Delpit, *Documents Français qui se trouvent en Angleterre*, p. 210).

“By the autumn of 1398 he was again acting as warden of the east march against Scotland, and with his father joined Henry of Lancaster at Doncaster immediately after his landing in the following July. The French writer Creton is the only authority for the statement that Hotspur had been accused to Richard of holding treasonable language and his father banished for disobeying a summons to court (*Archæologia*, xx. 157). Percy accompanied Henry into the west, where Richard was taken, beat off the half-hearted attacks of the Cheshiremen, and returned to London with Richard's conqueror (*Annales*, pp. 246, 250-1). Late in the year poison was thought to have been administered to him as well as to the new king (*ib.* p. 323). The subsequent boast of the Percys that they had placed Henry on the throne was not without foundation, and neither Hotspur's nor his father's services went unrewarded. One of Henry's first acts was to confirm him as warden of the east march and governor of Berwick and Roxburgh, Carlisle and the west march being given to his father.

“The disaffection of Wales and Cheshire calling for a strong hand, he was appointed, before the first year of the reign was out, justiciary of Cheshire, North Wales, and Flintshire, and constable of the castles of Chester, Flint, Conway, and Carnarvon, with a grant for life of the Isle of Anglesey and the castle of Beaumaris, along with the castle and lordship of Bamborough in Northumberland. He was also sheriff of the latter county and of Flintshire. But these border commands were no beds of roses, and King Henry took little pains to humour his hot-tempered and formidable follower. Conway Castle was betrayed to the Welsh on Good Friday 1401, and, though Hotspur recovered it after a month's siege, he could only get the half of his expenses out of the king, with a hint that if he had taken proper precautions they need not have been incurred. He

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complained bitterly, too, that his soldiers in the Scottish marches were unpaid (Adam of Usk, p. 60; *Chronique de la Traison*, p. 284; *Ord. Privy Council*, i. 146-53, ii. 57). He was evidently weary of his Welsh charge, and on his appointment on 1 Sept. as one of the commissioners to negotiate a peace with Scotland, Sir Hugh le Despenser succeeded him as justiciar (*ib.* i. 168; Wylie, i. 242). In March 1402 he was called upon to surrender Anglesey to the Prince of Wales, and to accept compensation out of the Mortimer estates (*Ord. Privy Council*, i. 177). Roxburgh Castle was at the same time transferred to Ralph Neville, earl of Westmoreland, the great rival of the Percys in the north. This arrangement seems to have been part of a scheme by which Hotspur became lieutenant of North Wales, his uncle, Thomas Percy, earl of Worcester, . . . receiving the same position in South Wales (*ib.* i. 146, 173). But the appointment, if made, never took effect.

“The state of affairs on the Scottish border imperatively demanded the presence of the warden of the east march. After a preliminary raid in June, the Scots in August repeated the great invasion of 1388. A great force under Murdoch Stewart, earl of Fife, son of the regent Albany, and Archibald, fourth earl of Douglas, harried Northumberland with fire and sword, and, according to one account, penetrated beyond the Wear (Wyntoun). Thirty French knights were with them. But the Percys had now the assistance of the cool-headed George Dunbar, earl of March, Hotspur's old antagonist at Otterburn. They occupied a position at Millfield on the Till, some six miles north of Wooler, completely commanding the line of retreat of the main body of the Scots. The latter coming up on 14 Sept., and finding their progress barred, halted irresolutely on the slope of Humbledon Hill (called by the chroniclers Homildoun Hill), within bowshot of the English. March restrained Hotspur's eagerness to charge, and the English archers riddled the exposed ranks of the Scots. Within an hour the battle was won, the English men-at-arms having never come into action. Five earls,

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including Douglas and Fife, and many scores of gentlemen of name laid down their arms; five hundred of the fugitives were drowned in the Tweed, thirteen miles from the field (Walsingham, ii. 251; Monk of Evesham, p. 180; Hardyng [a page of Hotspur, who was present], p. 359; Wylie, i. 291).

“This brilliant success of the Percys stood in sharp contrast to the miserable failure of the king’s own expedition into Wales, and their relations, which for some time had not been very cordial, soon became strained almost to breaking-point. Henry was threatened by a combination of Scots, Welsh, and French, and his position was critical. Yet he gave mortal offence to Hotspur by forbidding the ransom of his brother-in-law, Sir Edmund Mortimer, . . . who had been captured by Glendower, and by taking into his own hands the prisoners made at Humbledon. Hotspur refused to send up Douglas to London with the other prisoners, and, in a stormy interview with the king during the October parliament, demanded permission to ransom Mortimer. Henry refused, and high words were exchanged, the king calling him a traitor, and even drawing his dagger upon him. Whereupon Hotspur withdrew, crying, ‘Not here, but in the field’ (*Cont. Eulog. Hist.* iii. 295). Wavrin’s version is that the king had given him ‘ung grant soufflet.’ Meanwhile, Hotspur’s father had been pressing for payment of the arrears of his own and his son’s salaries as wardens of the marches, while Henry, on being asked what had become of Richard’s treasure, threw the responsibility upon the earl. But an outward reconciliation was effected, Henry appointing commissioners to report on all claims in reference to the Scottish prisoners, and endeavouring to conciliate the earl, and perhaps dissociate him from his son, by a grant (March 1403) of Scotland south of the Tweed, including the county of Douglas.

“Hotspur in May besieged the border peels of Cocklaw, near Yetholm, and Ormiston, near Hawick, but, meeting with considerable resistance, departed with the undertaking to surrender if not relieved by 1 Aug., and recrossed the border. The arrange-

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ment was communicated to the king, who was on his way northward in the middle of July to assist the Percys on the borders, when he suddenly learnt that Hotspur was on the Welsh border and had thrown off his authority (*Ord. Privy Council*, i. 207; *Foedera*, viii. 313). He was aware that the Percys were still disaffected, but does not seem to have been prepared for their revolt. They had written to many nobles protesting their loyalty, but criticising Henry's government, more especially his financial administration, and expressing their determination to get those who poisoned his mind against them replaced by better counsellors. A large number of those addressed are said to have sent assurances of support (*Hardyng*, p. 361). The king heard of these letters, and, seeking to remove the impression they had made, denied that he had left the Percys to bear the whole burden of the border warfare, but promised them vaguely further sums. . . . A demand from the earl for an immediate advance as late as 26 June possibly hastened Henry's departure for the north (*Ord. Privy Council*, i. 204-7).

"But this more or less open disaffection concealed a conspiracy against his throne. Secretly encouraged by Archbishop Scrope, the Duke of York, and others, the Percys had come to an understanding with Glendower and Sir Edmund Mortimer, who since the previous November had definitely gone over to Owen and married his daughter. Henry was to be deposed in favour of the young Earl of March, the nephew of Hotspur's wife, and Wales was to be left independent under Owen. Shortly after his father's last letter to the king, Hotspur threw off the mask, and hastened, with 160 horse, through Lancashire to Chester, where he arrived on Monday, 9 July, and took up his residence in the house of one Petronilla Clark (*Wylie*, i. 357). He was accompanied by the Earl of Douglas and other Scottish prisoners, whom he had set free. A proclamation that King Richard was with them, and could be seen either in Chester Castle or at Sandiway, between Chester and Northwich, on 17 July, caused the Cheshire adherents of the late king to flock to

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his standard. Among them were Richard Venables, baron of Kinderton; Richard Vernon, baron of Shipbrook, and a number of the Cheshire clergy. Many mounted Richard's badge of the white hart. But when Hotspur had been joined by his uncle Thomas Percy, earl of Worcester, and was moving southwards with a view to a junction on the Severn with Glendower, the pretence that Richard still lived was dropped, Edmund of March was declared the rightful king, and letters of defiance were sent forth, in which, as 'Protectors of the Commonwealth,' they accused 'Henry of Lancaster' of breaking an oath made to them at Doncaster in 1399 that he came not to claim the kingdom but only his inheritance, of starving King Richard to death, and of tyrannical government (Hardyng, p. 352). The statement of more than one chronicler that they advanced as far eastwards as Lichfield seems most improbable, if only from the fact that the king was there from 17 July (*Cont. Eulog. Hist.* iii. 396; *Foedera*, viii. 313).

"Early in the morning of Saturday, 21 July, they appeared, by the Oswestry road, at the Castle Foregate of Shrewsbury. But to their astonishment the banner of Henry was displayed from the walls. Henry had learnt of their treason by 16 July, and had been collecting troops; on the advice of the Scottish Earl of March he had made a forced march of forty-five miles to Shrewsbury on the Friday, though his musters were not yet complete, in order to cut off the Percys from Glendower, who was in south Wales. Drawing back along the Whitchurch road for some three and a half miles, Hotspur took up an advantageous position on the slope of the Hayteley field, a little to the left of the road in the parish of Albright Hussey (Ramsay, i. 60, with map; cf. Wylie, i. 360). His front was protected by a tangled crop of peas and, according to Sir James Ramsay, three small ponds; but it has been questioned whether these were permanent features of the site. The king, following, drew up his forces at the foot of the slope. Hotspur called for his favourite sword, and on being told that it had been left behind

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at the village of Berwick, where he had spent the previous night without hearing its name, he turned pale and said, 'Then has my plough reached its last furrow!' He had been warned by a soothsayer that he should die at Berwick, but had never doubted that Berwick-on-Tweed was meant. The omen possibly made him listen more readily to the offer to treat which Henry sent by the abbot of Shrewsbury; and his uncle went down to the royal camp. But nothing came of the negotiations; and shortly after midday the king set forward his banners. 'St. George!' was the cry on one side, 'Espérance Percy!' on the other. The deadly fire of the Cheshire archers broke part of the royal line, but the Prince of Wales carried the slope, and the battle soon resolved itself into a desperate hand-to-hand fight. Hotspur and Douglas, with a chosen band of thirty, cut their way to the royal standard, beat it down, and, as they supposed, slew the king. But the prudent March had removed him to a place of greater safety; and it was only one clad in his armour that had fallen. At last Percy, pressing on ahead of his men, was brought down by an unknown hand. His followers, doubtful whether he had taken the king or had himself perished, falteringly raised the cry 'Henry Percy King.' But the king lifted his voice and shouted to them, 'Henry Percy is dead' (*Annales Henrici IV*, p. 368). After the 'sory bataill,' the forerunner of sorrows for England, was finished, his body, over which the king is said to have shed tears, was delivered to his kinsman, Thomas Neville, lord Furnival, who buried it in his family chapel at Whitchurch, sixteen miles north of the battlefield. But a day or two later, in order to prevent any rumours that he was still alive, the body was brought back to Shrewsbury, rubbed in salt, and placed erect between two millstones by the side of the pillory in the open street (Wylie, i. 364; cf. *Chronique de la Traïson*, p. 285). After a few days' exposure the head was cut off, and sent to be fixed on one of the gates of York; the quarters were hung above the gates of London, Bristol, Newcastle, and Chester.

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“His wife Elizabeth Mortimer, daughter of Edmund Mortimer, third Earl of March, and Philippa, granddaughter of Edward III, was born at Usk on 12 Feb. 1371. She was put under arrest after Hotspur’s death (*Foedera*, viii. 334), but subsequently married Thomas de Camoys, lord Camoys, and was alive in 1417. She may be ‘the Isabel Camoyse, wife of Thomas Camoyse, knt.,’ who died in 1444, and was buried in Friars Minors. By her Hotspur had one son, Henry (1394–1455), . . . to whom the earldom of Northumberland, forfeited by his grandfather, was restored by Henry V in 1414; and a daughter Elizabeth, married, first, to John, lord Clifford (d. 1422), and, secondly, to Ralph Neville, second earl of Westmoreland.

“Hotspur is the last and not the least in the long roll of chivalrous figures whose prowess fills the pages of Froissart. He had the virtues and the defects of his class and time. A doughty fighter rather than a skilful soldier, he was instinct with stormy energy, passionate and ‘intolerant of the shadow of a slight.’”*

“HENRY PERCY (slain in battle of St. Albans), second Earl of Northumberland (1394–1455), son and heir of Sir Henry Percy, . . . called Hotspur, was born on 3 Feb. 1394. His father fell at Shrewsbury on 21 July 1403, and Henry was presented to Henry IV by his grandfather, Henry de Percy, first earl of Northumberland, . . . at York in the following August. When the earl fled to Scotland in 1405, young Percy also took shelter there, arriving shortly before his grandfather (*Scotichronicon*, p. 1166), and after the earl’s death was detained by the Scots as though a prisoner of war, but was treated with honour by them (*ib.* p. 1184). Henry V pitying him, and being solicited on his behalf by Joan, countess of Westmoreland, the king’s aunt, whose daughter Eleanor Percy married at Berwick in that year, restored him in blood, and on 11 Nov. 1414 assented to a petition from him, presented in parliament, for the restoration of his dignities and estates (*Rolls of Parliament*, iv. 36–7; Walsingham, ii. 300; Collins, *Peerage*, iii. 273; this marriage is celebrated in

* *Dict. N. Biog.* vol. xlv.

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Bishop Percy's ballad 'The Hermit of Warkworth'). The king desired that he should be exchanged for Murdoch Stewart, eldest son of the Duke of Albany. Some delay took place, and the Earl of Cambridge, who made a conspiracy against the king, plotted to bring Percy into England with an army of Scots (*Foedera*, ix. 260). It is evident that Percy had nothing to do with this scheme, and his exchange, which was arranged for on 1 July 1415, took place soon after (*Proceedings of the Privy Council*, ii. 162-4, 188-90). His hereditary possessions were restored, and on 16 March 1416 he did homage in parliament for his earldom, receiving a new patent of creation (*Rot. Parl.* iv. 71-2). In April 1417 he was appointed warden of the east marches towards Scotland, and captain of Berwick. He commanded a contingent of the army mustered in July for the king's second invasion of France, but, if he actually sailed, must have shortly afterwards returned, for the Scots under Archibald, fourth earl of Douglas, . . . and the duke of Albany, having invaded England in October, and made attempts on Berwick and Roxburgh, he, with other lords and with Henry Bowet, . . . archbishop of York, raised a force which mustered on Barmoor, near Wooler in Northumberland. The Scots retreated, and the English ravaged the southern border of Scotland (*Gesta Henrici V*, pp. 121, 272; Otterbourne, p. 279; *Scotichronicon*, p. 1186). The earl did some service in the French war, and on 24 Feb. 1421 officiated as a steward at the coronation of Queen Catherine. . . . In June he was reappointed warden of the east marches with a salary of 5,000 *l.* in time of war and 2,500 *l.* in peace (*Foedera*, x. 126).

"On the death of Henry V Northumberland attended the council that met on 16 Nov. 1422 to decide on Gloucester's claim to be regent, and was appointed a member of the council of regency (*Proceedings of the Privy Council*, iii. 6, 157). He was appointed ambassador to the council of Pavia on 22 Feb. 1423 with a salary of 66 *s.* 8 *d.* a day (*ib.* pp. 42, 61), and on 6 July was appointed joint ambassador to Scotland, his commission

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being renewed on 14 Feb. following. He constantly attended the meetings of the council, and on 24 Nov. 1426 assisted in drawing up ordinances for its government (*ib.* p. 213). In 1429 and 1430 he was a joint ambassador to Scotland, and on 18 Feb. 1434 the council decided that he should be paid 50*l.* in consideration of his labour and expenses in attending courts for the settlement of disputes between the English and the Scots. Part of the town of Alnwick having lately been burnt by the Scots, he obtained license in June that he and the burgesses might wall it round. As the five years' truce with Scotland was to expire in May 1436, he made great preparations for war, dubbed many new knights, and probably crossed the border in connection with the raid of Sir Robert Ogle, who was defeated in September at Piperden, . . . but did not effect anything. On his return King James . . . laid siege to Roxburgh in October. The earl promptly advanced to meet him at the head of the local forces, and the king broke up the siege and departed. (Hardyng, p. 397; *Chronicle of Henry VI*, p. 16, ed. Giles; *Three Chronicles*, p. 166; Gregory, p. 179). In return for his services he received a grant of 100*l.* a year for life. He was reappointed a member of the council on 12 Nov. 1437, and the next year was a joint commissioner to treat with the Scots. In common with the other lords of the council, he was appointed in 1441 to inquire into all treason and sorcery against the king's person in connection with the accusation brought against the Duchess of Gloucester (*Devon Issues*, p. 444). In 1442-3 he had a quarrel with John Kemp, . . . archbishop of York, and his men did injury to the property of the see at Ripon and Bishopthorpe. The dispute was finally settled in the council, the king deciding that the earl was to repair the damage (*Proceedings*, v. 269-70, 309; *Plumpton Correspondence*, Introd. pp. liv-lxxii). He is said to have had a personal share in his son's campaign against the Scots in October 1448, to have been unhorsed at the battle by the river Sark in Annandale, and to have been saved by his son, who remounted him; but

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this seems untrue (Holinshed, i. 273; comp. *Auchinleck Chronicle*, p. 18). In the summer his two castles of Alnwick and Warkworth had been set on fire by the Earl of Douglas. On 25 May 1450 Northumberland was made constable of England, but resigned on 11 Sept. in favour of the Duke of Somerset. . . .

"The old feud between the Percys and the Nevilles again broke out, was heightened by political dissension, and caused serious disorder in the north. In July 1453 the king in council wrote to the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, charging them to see that the peace was kept (*Proceedings*, vi. 147). A battle was fought between two of Northumberland's sons, Lord Egremont . . . and Sir Richard Percy, and Westmoreland's son, the Earl of Salisbury, . . . and on 8 Oct. another letter was sent to Northumberland urging him to do his duty by preserving order (*ib.* pp. 159-64). The north remained disturbed, and on 10 May 1454 both the earls were specially bidden to attend the council on 12 June to provide means for preventing the continuance of disorder (*ib.* p. 178). The Duke of York having taken up arms in May 1455, the earl marched with the royal army against him, and was slain in the battle of St. Albans on the 23rd; his body was buried in the lady-chapel of the abbey. The earl was a benefactor to University College, Oxford (Wood, *Colleges and Halls*, p. 47), and to Eton College. By his wife Eleanor, daughter of Ralph, first earl of Westmoreland, . . . previously married, or contracted, to Richard le Despenser, son of Thomas, earl of Gloucester, who died in 1414 at the age of fourteen, he had twelve children: Henry, . . . who succeeded him; Thomas, lord Egremont; . . . George, a prebendary of Beverley, born 1424; Sir Ralph; . . . Sir Richard, slain at Towton on 29 March 1461; William, who was born in 1428, graduated D.D. from Cambridge, where he was chancellor 1451-5, was provided to the see of Carlisle in 1452, called to the privy council (cf. Nicholas, *Proceedings*, vi. 185 et seq.), and died in 1462 (three other sons died in infancy). Northumberland's three daughters were: Joan, a nun, buried at Whitby Abbey; Cath-

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erine, born in 1423, married Edmund Grey, lord Grey of Ruthin, . . . created earl of Kent; and Anne, married (1) Sir Thomas Hungerford, (2) Sir Laurence Rainsford, (3) Sir Hugh Vaughan, and died in 1522 (Collins).”*

“HENRY PERCY, third Earl of Northumberland (1421–1461), son of Henry, second earl, was born at Leconfield, Yorkshire, on 25 July 1421, and was knighted by Henry VI on 19 May 1426, being the day on which the little king was himself knighted (*Foedera*, x. 356). In July 1439 he was appointed warden of the east marches and Berwick. By his marriage with Eleanor, granddaughter and heiress of Robert, lord Poynings, he in 1446 acquired the baronies of Poynings, Fitzpaine, and Bryan, with estates in Kent, Sussex, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Somerset, and was in December summoned to parliament as Baron de Poynings. In May 1448 he invaded Scotland in company with Sir Robert Ogle, afterwards first Baron Ogle, . . . and burnt Dunbar. The Scots retaliated by setting fire to his father’s castles, at Alnwick in June and at Warkworth in July, and doing other damage. Accordingly, in October the king, having advanced into the north, sent him to invade Scotland. He was met by Hugh Douglas, earl of Ormond, forced to retreat, and defeated and taken prisoner near the river Sark (*Auchinleck Chronicle*, p. 18). He regained his freedom, and was recompensed by the king with the grant of half the goods of Sir Robert Ogle, then outlawed. In April 1451 he was a joint commissioner to treat with the ambassadors of James II of Scotland, and was one of the conservators of the truce made at Newcastle in August (*Foedera*, xi. 299). On the death of his father on 23 May 1455 he succeeded him as Earl of Northumberland, the king allowing him relief of his lands without payment, the new earl having on 3 July foiled by his careful preparations an attack of Scots on Berwick, for which he received the king’s thanks. This attack on Berwick was probably connected with the war between King James and James, ninth earl of Douglas, . . . in alliance with whom Percy seems

* *Dict. N. Biog.* vol. xlv.

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to have acted against Scotland about this time. The feud between the Percys and the Nevilles still disturbed the north, and in January 1458 a great council was held at London to pacify that and other quarrels. To this council the earl came up at the head of a large armed force, and the Londoners, who admitted the Yorkists within their city, refused to admit him and the other Lancastrian lords, 'because they came against the peace,' so they lodged outside the walls. After much debate a general reconciliation, in which the earl was included, was effected on 25 March (*Political Poems*, ii. 254). Northumberland attended the parliament at Coventry in November 1459, when the Duke of York was accused of the death of the old earl, and the Yorkist leaders were attainted, and he took the oath to maintain the succession in the king's line. He was appointed chief justice of the forests north of Trent, and constable of Scarborough Castle (Doyle), and the king is said to have committed the government of the north to him and Lord Clifford as 'his trusty and most faithful friends' (Hall, p. 242). In November 1460 he held a meeting at York with Lords Clifford, Dacres, and others, and plundered the tenants of the Yorkist lords. York went north against them, and on 29 Dec. they defeated him at Wakefield, in which battle Northumberland was engaged (Will. Worc. *Annals*; Gregory, p. 210; *Lancaster and York*, ii. 236). After helping to raise an army for the queen, he marched southwards with her and the forces of the north, their army plundering and destroying as it marched, and on 17 Feb. 1461 defeated Warwick at St. Albans. The earl then marched to York with the king and queen, and was, in conjunction with Somerset and Clifford, in command of the royal army which marched to oppose the advance of the new king, Edward IV. At the battle of Towton on 29 March the earl commanded the van of the Lancastrian army. Seeing that his archers, who were blinded by a snowstorm, were unable to stand against the arrows of the Yorkists, he hastened to come to close quarters, and was slain. By his wife Eleanor, who survived him, he left a son Henry, afterwards fourth

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Earl of Northumberland, . . . and three daughters: Eleanor, married Lord De la Warr; Margaret, married Sir William Gascoigne of Gawthorp, Yorkshire; and Elizabeth, married Henry, lord Scrope of Bolton. He was, it is believed, buried in the church of St. Dionys at York, the church of the parish in which stood Percy's Inn, the York town house of his family. In this church there was a painted window presenting several effigies of the Percys; it was taken down in 1590 (Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 306, where it is figured)."*

"HENRY PERCY (Great Chamberlain of England), fourth Earl of Northumberland (1446-1489), was the only son of Henry Percy, third earl. . . . On his father's attainder, Edward IV committed him to safe keeping, and three years later conferred the forfeited earldom of Northumberland on John Neville, lord Montagu. . . . Percy's imprisonment cannot have been very strict, for in 1465 he was confined in the Fleet, where he made the acquaintance of John Paston (1421-1466), . . . a fellow-prisoner (*Paston Letters*, ii. 237, 243). His subsequent transference to the Tower may be attributed to the Nevilles when they held the king in durance after the battle of Edgecote in 1469. One of Edward's first steps on shaking off this constraint was to release Percy (27 Oct.), merely exacting an oath of fealty (*Foedera*, xi. 648). When the final breach with the Nevilles came in the following spring, and the king drove the Earl of Warwick out of the realm, he took the earldom of Northumberland from Lord Montagu, and restored it (25 March at York) to Percy, who had accompanied him throughout the campaign (*Paston Letters*, ii. 396). The new earl also superseded his disgraced rival in the wardenship of the east march towards Scotland, which had usually been held by the head of his house. This he lost again in the autumn, when the Nevilles restored Henry VI, and though Northumberland made no open resistance to the change of government, and could not very well be deprived of his newly recovered title, the Lancastrian traditions of his family

* *Dict. N. Biog.* vol. xlv.

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did not blind him to the fact that for him it was a change for the worse.

“On landing in Yorkshire in the following spring, Edward is said to have exhibited letters, under Northumberland’s seal, inviting him to return; and though he ‘sat still’ and did not join Edward, his neutrality was afterwards excused, as due to the difficulty of getting his Lancastrian followers to fight for York, and was held to have rendered ‘notable good service’ to the cause by preventing Montagu from rousing Yorkshire against the small Yorkist force (Warkworth, p. 14; *Arrival of Edward IV*, p. 6). Twelve days after the battle of Barnet, Northumberland was created chief justice of the royal forests north of Trent by the triumphant Edward, and, after Tewkesbury, he was made constable of Bamborough Castle (5 June) and warden of the east and middle marches (24 June). In the parliament of August 1472, the first held by Edward since his restoration of the earldom to Percy, the attainder of 1461 was formally abrogated. Shortly after the opening of the session Northumberland was appointed chief commissioner to treat with the Scots. Two years later he entered the order of the Garter, and was made sheriff of Northumberland for life (Doyle). In 1475 he was given a colleague in his wardenship, in order that he might accompany the king in his expedition to France, and his presence is noted by Commynes (i. 374) at the interview between Louis XI and Edward at Pecquigny. He led the van in the Duke of Gloucester’s invasion of Scotland in June 1482, and Berwick, then recovered, was entrusted to his keeping.

“Richard of Gloucester, when he assumed the protectorship, was careful to conciliate Northumberland by renewing his command as warden of the marches and captain of Berwick. A few weeks later the earl had no scruples in recognising Richard as king, and bore the pointless sword, curtana, the emblem of royal mercy, before him in the coronation procession (*Excerpta Historica*, p. 380; Taylor, *Glory of Regality*, pp. 71, 149). The office of great chamberlain of England, which the Duke of

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Buckingham forfeited by rebellion in October, was bestowed upon Northumberland (30 Nov.), together with the lordship of Holderness, which had long belonged to the Staffords, and formed a desirable addition to the Percy possessions in Yorkshire. Richard gave him many offices of profit, and lands valued at nearly a thousand a year. Parliament restored to him all the lands forfeited by the Percy rebellions under Henry IV and not yet recovered. Next to the Duke of Norfolk's, Richard bid highest for Northumberland's loyalty (*Rot. Parl.* vi. 252; Ramsay, ii. 534). But he was not more ready to sink or swim with Richard than he had been with Edward. Some months before he landed in England, Henry of Richmond had entertained a suggestion that he should marry a sister-in-law of Northumberland (Polydore Vergil, p. 215). When the crisis arrived the earl obeyed Richard's summons, and was at Bosworth, apparently in command of the right wing, but his troops never came into action; and, if Polydore (p. 225) may be believed, he would have gone over early in the battle had Richard not placed a close watch upon him (cf. Hutton, *Bosworth Field*, p. 130).

"Northumberland was taken prisoner by the victor, but at once received into favour and soon restored to all his offices in the north, and employed in negotiations with Scotland. In the spring of 1489 he was called upon to deal with the resistance of the Yorkshiremen to the tenth of incomes demanded for the Breton war (*Gent. Mag.* 1851, pt. i. p. 459; Busch, i. 329). On 10 April he was appointed commissioner, with the archbishop of York and others, to investigate and punish the disturbances in York at the election of mayor in the previous February (Campbell, ii. 443). Towards the end of the month he was alarmed by the attitude of the people in the vicinity of his manor of Topcliffe, near Thirsk, and on Saturday, 24 April, wrote to Sir Robert Plumpton from Seamer, close to Scarborough, ordering him to secretly bring as many armed men as he could to Thirsk by the following Monday (*Plumpton Correspondence*, p. 61). On Wednesday, 28 April, having gathered

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a force estimated at eight hundred men, he came into conflict with the commons, whose ringleader was one John a Chamber, near Thirsk, at a place variously called Cockledge or Blackmoor Edge, and was slain at the first onset (Leland, *Collectanea*, iv. 246; Dugdale, *Baronage*, i. 282; Brown, *Venetian Calendar*, i. 533). It was at first reported that he had gone out unarmed to appease the rebels (*Paston Letters*, iii. 359). Some affirmed that over and above the immediate cause of collision the commons had not forgiven him for his conduct to Richard, who had been very popular in Yorkshire (Hall, p. 443). Bernard Andreas . . . wrote a Latin ode of twelve stanzas on his death (*Vita*, p. 48; cf. Percy, *Reliques*, i. 98, ed. 1767), and Skelton wrote an elegy in English. He was buried in the Percy chantry, on the north side of the lady-chapel of Beverley Minster, where his tomb, from which the effigy has disappeared, may still be seen. His will, dated 17 July 1485, is given in the 'Testamenta Eboracensia' (Surtees Soc.), vol. iii.

"By his wife, Maud Herbert, daughter of William Herbert, first earl of Pembroke . . . of the second creation, whom he married about 1476, he left four sons—Henry Algernon (1478–1527) . . . his successor in the earldom; Sir William Percy; Alan; . . . and Josceline, founder of the family of Percy of Beverley—and three daughters: Eleanor, wife of Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham (beheaded in 1521); Anne, married (1511) to William Fitzalan, earl of Arundel (1483–1544); and Elizabeth, who died young."*

ELEANOR PERCY, daughter of Henry, fourth Earl of Northumberland, and her husband, who was beheaded by Henry VIII:

"EDWARD STAFFORD, third Duke of Buckingham (1478–1521), eldest son of Henry Stafford, second duke of Buckingham, . . . was born at Brecknock Castle on 3 Feb. 1477–8 ('Stafford Register,' quoted by G. E. C. *Complete Peerage*, vii. 22; *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 4th Rep. App. i, 326; *Brit. Mus. Add. Ch.* 19868). Through his father he was descended from Edward III's son,

* *Dict. N. Biog.* vol. xliv.

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Thomas of Woodstock, and his mother was Catherine Woodville, sister of Edward IV's queen, Elizabeth; she afterwards married Henry VII's uncle, Jasper Tudor, duke of Bedford. . . . His father forfeited all his honours by his attainder in 1483, when Edward was five years old, and a romantic account of the concealment and escape of his young son is preserved among Lord Bagot's manuscripts (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 4th Rep. App. i, 328 *b*). On the accession of Henry VII, the attainder was reversed in 1485, and the custody of Edward's lands, together with his wardship and marriage, which had been given to the crown, was granted by Henry VII to his mother, Margaret, countess of Richmond (Campbell, *Materials*, i. 118, 532 et passim). He is doubtfully said to have been educated at Cambridge (Cooper, i. 24). On 29 Oct. 1485 he was made a knight of the Bath, and in 1495 he became a knight of the Garter. On 9 Nov. 1494 he was present when Prince Henry was created Duke of York, and in September 1497 he was appointed a captain in the royal army sent against the Cornish rebels. In November 1501 he was sent to meet Catherine of Arragon on her marriage with Prince Arthur, and on 9 March 1503-4 he was appointed high steward for the enthronement of Archbishop Warham.

"On the accession of Henry VIII Buckingham began to play a more important part. He was appointed lord high constable on 23 June 1509, and lord high steward for the coronation on the following day, when he also bore the crown. On 20 Nov. following he was sworn a privy councillor. In Henry's first parliament, which met on 21 Jan. 1509-10 and again in February 1511-2, Buckingham was a trier of petitions for England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland. From June to October 1513 he was a captain in the English army in France, serving with five hundred men in the 'middle ward.' On 13 Aug. 1514 he was present at the marriage of Henry's sister Mary with Louis XII of France, and he served on commissions for the peace in Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Shropshire, Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, Buckinghamshire, Surrey, Kent, and Somerset. He was

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summoned to parliament on 23 Nov. 1514. In 1518 he was thought to be high in the king's favour, and in August 1519 he entertained Henry with great magnificence at Penshurst. He was present at the meeting with Francis I in June 1520 and at the interview with Charles V at Gravelines in the following July.

"Nevertheless, Buckingham's position rendered him an object of jealousy and suspicion to Henry VIII. Even in the previous reign his claims to the throne caused some to speak 'of my lorde of Buckyngham, saying that he was a noble man and wold be a ryall ruler' (Gairdner, *Letters and Papers of Henry VII*, i. 233, 239). He was formidable alike by his descent, his wealth, his wide estates, and his connections. He was himself married to a daughter of the Percys: his only son had wedded the daughter of Margaret Pole, countess of Salisbury, . . . and his daughters, Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey and afterwards duke of Norfolk, Ralph Neville, earl of Westmoreland, and George Neville, lord Abergavenny. He naturally became the mouth-piece of the great nobles who resented their exclusion from office and hated Wolsey as a low-born ecclesiastic. On one occasion when the cardinal ventured to wash in a basin which Buckingham was holding for the king, the duke is said to have poured the water into Wolsey's shoes, and on another Wolsey sent him a message that, though he might indulge in railing against himself, he should take care how 'he did use himself towards his Highness;' but Polydore Vergil's story, followed by Holinshed and others, that Buckingham's fall was mainly due to Wolsey's malice, lacks documentary proof (Brewer, *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. ii. pt. i. Introd. pp. cvii et seq.). Nor is Wolsey's statement to the French minister Du Prat, that Buckingham fell through his opposition to the French alliance, the entire truth, though that opposition was probably one of the causes.

"According to the tradition followed in the play of 'Henry VIII' assigned to Shakespeare, Buckingham was betrayed by his cousin, Charles Knyvet, who had been dismissed from his service; but more probably his betrayer was his chancellor, Rob-

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ert Gilbert, who was no doubt the author of an anonymous letter written to Wolsey late in 1520, giving an account of the duke's so-called treasonable practices. Henry took the matter up himself, and personally examined witnesses against the duke in the spring of 1521. On 8 April Buckingham was ordered to London from Thornbury, where he had spent the winter in ignorance of these proceedings. On his arrival he was committed to the Tower (16 April). He was tried before seventeen of his peers, presided over by the Duke of Norfolk, on 13 May. The charges against him were trivial and possibly not true. He was accused of having listened to prophecies of the king's death and of his own succession to the crown, and of having expressed an intention to kill Henry. The chief witnesses against him were Gilbert and Delacourt (his confessor), but the duke was not allowed to cross-examine them. Henry had made up his mind that Buckingham was to die, and the peers did not venture to dispute the decision. He was condemned, and executed on Tower Hill on 17 May, his body being buried in the church of the Austin Friars. An act of parliament confirming his attainder was passed 31 July 1523 (*Statutes of the Realm*, iii. 246-58).

"Buckingham was certainly guilty of no crimes sufficient to justify his attainder, and his execution aroused popular sympathy; but his character does not merit much admiration. Weak and vacillating, he seems to have treated his dependents with harshness, and his vast enclosures were a constant subject of complaint. At the same time he was devoted to religion. On 2 Aug. 1514 he obtained license to found a college at Thornbury, Gloucestershire, where he had built himself a castle and imparked a thousand acres. He has also been claimed as a benefactor of Magdalene College, Cambridge, which, however, was called Buckingham College before his time. The college possesses an anonymous portrait of the duke (cf. *Cat. Tudor Exhib.* No. 105). Another anonymous portrait belongs to the Marquis of Bath, and a third to the Rev. Abbot Upcher. Two,

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attributed to Holbein, belong respectively to the Lord Donington and Sir Henry Bedingfeld (cf. *Cat. First Loan Exhib.* Nos. 44, 71; *Cat. Tudor Exhib.* Nos. 69, 136, 439).

“Buckingham married, in 1500, Alianore, eldest daughter of Henry Percy, fourth earl of Northumberland (cf. Campbell, *Materials for the Reign of Henry VII*, ii. 554). By her he had an only son, Henry Stafford, first baron Stafford, . . . and three daughters: (1) Elizabeth, who married Thomas Howard, third duke of Norfolk; . . . (2) Catherine, who married Ralph Neville, fourth earl of Westmoreland; . . . and (3) Mary, who married George Neville, third baron of Bergavenny.”*

LADY ELIZABETH STAFFORD, daughter of the Duke of Buckingham, m. about Easter 1513 Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, when she was little more than fifteen. Her father was beheaded and her husband condemned to be beheaded by Henry VIII. (*See* Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk.)

* *D.A. N. Biog.* vol. liii.

PART FOURTH

Brief Genealogy of
Elizabeth Parker Clark (Salisbury) FitzGerald

PART FOURTH

Salisbury*

JOHN SALISBURY (Sea Captain), of Boston, 1689, m. secondly, Bridget Williams; d. 1702.

NICHOLAS SALISBURY, son of John, b. 28 October 1697; m. 1 October 1724, Martha Saunders, daughter of Josiah and Rebeckah (Eldridge) Saunders; d. Boston, 11 December 1748. Nicholas was one of the early merchants of Boston. After his death, his widow continued the business, engaged in importing goods from abroad, and added materially to the family property. She lived to be nearly eighty-eight years of age.

SAMUEL SALISBURY, son of Nicholas, b. Boston, 18 November 1739; m. 29 September 1768, Elizabeth Sewall, granddaughter of Chief Justice Sewall; d. Boston, 2 May 1818. Samuel Salisbury became one of the richest and most influential merchants of Boston. He had ten children.

SAMUEL SALISBURY, son of Samuel, b. Boston, 10 August 1769; m. secondly, 18 July 1806, Nancy Gardner,† daughter of Reverend Francis Gardner, of Leominster, by whom he had seven children; d. Boston, 24 January 1849. He was a merchant.

STEPHEN SALISBURY, M.D., son of Samuel, b. Boston, 12 April 1812; m. 3 January 1844, Elizabeth Parker Clark, daughter of Hon. Truman Clark, of Walpole; d. Brookline, 13 September 1875.

ELIZABETH PARKER CLARK SALISBURY, daughter of Stephen, b. Medway, 12 June 1849; m. Brookline, 21 June 1870, Desmond FitzGerald.

* *The Salisbury Family Memorials*, by Professor Edward E. Salisbury, of New Haven, give in full detail the Salisbury descent. From that work I have taken almost all of the following facts.

† Whose brother m. Elizabeth Greenleaf, a niece of Madame Hancock.

BRIEF GENEALOGY OF

Sewall

HENRY SEWALL (Immigrant) was the son of Henry, Mayor of Coventry, England, and emigrated to Newbury. In 1646, he settled in Rowley. He d. in March 1657 and was buried in Rowley. He m. Anne Hunt.

REVEREND HENRY SEWALL (Immigrant), son of Henry, b. England, 1614; m. Jane Dummer, 25 March 1646; d. 16 May 1700. He came to America before his father, in the ship Elizabeth and Dorcas, and arrived in Boston in 1634. He wintered at Ipswich, and helped begin that plantation in 1635. Later he settled in Newbury. He was made a freeman, 17 May 1637, and represented that town in the General Court. He had eight children.

CHIEF JUSTICE SAMUEL SEWALL, son of Reverend Henry, b. Bishop Stoke, Hants, 28 March 1652; d. 1 January 1729-30. He was a graduate of Harvard College, 1671, and in 1674 became a Resident Fellow and Tutor in the College. He married Hannah Hull, sole heir of John Hull, the celebrated Master of the Mint and early benefactor of Harvard College. He married three times, but all of his children were by Hannah Hull, his first wife. In 1692, Sewall was appointed one of the judges of a special court to try the so-called witches, and afterwards made a public confession of his errors in the Old South Church. He was chosen one of the Judges of the Superior Court under the Provincial Charter, and in 1718 succeeded Winthrop as Chief Justice and held that office till 1728. He was a member of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College. In 1696, he and his wife deeded a farm of five hundred acres to the College, and the income from the sale of this farm, in accordance with their wishes, is still scrupulously applied to needy and meritorious students.

REVEREND JOSEPH SEWALL, son of Samuel, associate minister for fifty-six years of the Old South Church, b. 15 August

ELIZABETH P. C. (SALISBURY) FITZGERALD

1688; Harvard, 1707; m. Elizabeth, daughter of Hon. John Walley, 29 October 1713; d. Boston, 27 June 1769. He was chosen President of Harvard College, 11 May 1724, but declined the offer.

SAMUEL SEWALL (Merchant), son of Joseph, b. 2 May 1715; Harvard, 1733; m. Elizabeth, daughter of Edmund Quincy, of Braintree, 18 May 1749; d. 19 January 1771.

ELIZABETH SEWALL, daughter of Samuel, b. 12 March 1750; m. Samuel Salisbury, 29 September 1768; d. 25 March 1789. (*See* Salisbury.)

Hull

JOHN HULL (Master of the Mint), b. Market Hareborough, Leicestershire, England, 18 December 1624; m. 11 May 1647, Judith Quincy, daughter of Edmund Quincy, of Braintree; d. Boston, 1 October 1683. In 1652, he was Master of the Mint; in 1657, Selectman of Boston; in 1660-1, Town Treasurer; in 1669, one of the founders of the Old South Church; in 1671, Captain of Artillery; in 1668-73, Deputy to the General Court; in 1675-80, Treasurer of the Colony, and in 1680, Assistant. He was considered the richest merchant of his time in Boston. (*See* Quincy.)

Quincy

EDMUND QUINCY (Immigrant) was baptized in England on 30 May 1602; m. 14 July 1623, Judith Pares; d. Mt. Wollaston in 1635. He was a citizen of Boston or Mt. Wollaston. He first emigrated to New England in 1628, and brought out his family, 4 September 1633. In 1634, he was elected a representative of Boston in the first General Court ever held in Massachusetts Bay Colony. He and his wife were admitted members of the First Church of Boston in November 1633.

BRIEF GENEALOGY OF

He occupied "a conspicuous position in the infant Colony."*

COLONEL EDMUND QUINCY, only son of Edmund, baptized in England, 15 March 1627-8; m. secondly, 8 December 1680, Elizabeth (Gookin) Eliot; d. Braintree, 8 January 1697-8.

JUDGE EDMUND QUINCY, son of Colonel Edmund, b. Braintree, 14 October 1681; Harvard, 1699; m. 20 November 1701, Dorothy Flint; d. London, 23 February 1737-8. Judge Quincy was in the public service almost all his life as a Magistrate, a Councillor, and one of the Justices of the Supreme Court. He was also Colonel of the Suffolk Regiment, at that time a very important command. In 1737, the General Court selected him as their agent to lay the claims of the Colony before the home government in the matter of disputed boundary between Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire. He died, however, very soon after his arrival in London, of the smallpox, which he had taken by inoculation. He was buried in Bunhill Fields, where a monument was erected to his memory by the General Court, and his family was given one thousand acres of land in Lenox.

EDMUND QUINCY, son of Edmund, b. Braintree, 13 June 1703; m. 15 April 1725, Elizabeth Wendell; d. 1788. He also was a Judge.

ELIZABETH QUINCY, daughter of Edmund, b. 15 October 1729; m. 18 May 1749, Samuel Sewall; d. 15 February 1770. (*See Sewall.*)

Walley

REVEREND THOMAS WALLEY (Immigrant), b. England early in 1616; m. Margery —; d. Barnstable, 24 March 1678. Cotton Mather described him in his "Magnalia" as a "man of a thousand" and of "much fame." In 1662, he was invited to a charge

* Mrs. FitzGerald has the honor of descent from Edmund Quincy, the Immigrant, both through his son Edmund and his daughter Judith, who married John Hull. (*See Sewall.*)

ELIZABETH P. C. (SALISBURY) FITZGERALD

in Boston, but preferred Barnstable and was settled there from 1663 until his death. Some of his sermons have been published. The records of the Barnstable Church say: "The Lord was pleased to make him a blessed peacemaker &c." He preached a sermon at the annual election at Plymouth, 1669, "Address on Public Spirit."

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL JOHN WALLEY, son of Thomas, b. England, 1643-4; d. Boston, 11 January 1712. Previous to 1680, he resided in Boston. Removing thence in that year, he became one of the founders of Bristol in Plymouth County; Assistant, 1684-91; elected to the Council in 1691. In 1671, he was a member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery, and in 1679 he became its Commander. He was in charge of the land forces in the Quebec Expedition of 1690. Major-General Walley published a journal of this Expedition. In 1700, he was appointed a Judge of the Superior Court. He was one of the distinguished men of his time.

ELIZABETH WALLEY, daughter of General Walley, b. 1 November 1685; m. 29 October 1713, Joseph Sewall; d. 27 October 1756. (*See* Sewall.)

Gookin

MAJOR-GENERAL DANIEL GOOKIN, b. England, 1612; m. (licensed) 11 November 1639, Mary Dolling; d. Cambridge, 19 March 1686-7. He was a citizen of Cambridge, Massachusetts; was admitted to First Church, Boston, 26 May 1644; founded a public school at Roxbury, 1645-6; Captain of military company, Cambridge; Representative, 1649-51; Speaker of the House in 1651; Assistant, 1652-86, thirty-five years; consulted by Cromwell; appointed by General Court, Superintendent of Indians in 1656; wrote several works on the Indians; appointed Major-General of the Colony of Massachusetts in 1681.

BRIEF GENEALOGY

ELIZABETH (GOOKIN) ELIOT, daughter of General Gookin, baptized 14 March 1644; m. 8 December 1680, Edmund Quincy; d. 30 November 1700. (*See Quincy.*)

Wendell

JOHANNES WENDELL, Mayor of Albany, probably b. New Amsterdam, 2 February 1649; was a citizen of Albany, New York; m. about 1677-8, Elizabeth Staats, only daughter of Major Abraham Staats, Surgeon, who came from Holland in 1642; d. in 1691. He was a wealthy merchant; Magistrate in 1684; Captain in the Colonial Service in 1685; Alderman in 1686; Mayor of Albany in 1690; and with others empowered with discretionary authority to treat with the Five Nations and to superintend affairs relating to the defence of Albany.

ABRAHAM WENDELL, son of Johannes, baptized 27 December 1678; m. 15 May 1702, Katrina de Kay; d. Boston, 28 September 1734.

ELIZABETH WENDELL, daughter of Abraham, baptized 20 August 1704; m. 15 April 1725, Edmund Quincy; d. 7 November 1769. (*See Quincy.*)

